

SEMINARS AND CONFERENCES

Public policies for equality

Towards universal social protection systems

Simone Cecchini
Milena Lavigne
Editors



UNITED NATIONS

ECLAC



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NORWEGIAN MINISTRY
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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Introduction

Over the last decade and a half, many Latin American and Caribbean countries have made significant progress in reducing poverty and inequality, and in implementing innovative social programmes. Nonetheless, social protection continues to consist of a disorganized variety of programmes targeting specific population groups, and major structural challenges persist. The segmentation of the labour market into formal and informal sectors means that the population's access to pension and health systems is also segmented. Moreover, according to the Social Panorama of Latin America 2013 (ECLAC, 2013), 28% of the region's population (164 million people) still live in conditions of poverty, and the poorest 20% of households receive on average 5% of total income, while those in the wealthiest quintile absorb 47%.

Addressing these problems —and others such as ageing or gender inequality— entails constructing social protection systems that are more inclusive, are financed on a solidarity-based and have universal coverage, and respond to a rights approach (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011). Nonetheless, there are major challenges in consolidating universal social protection systems that help build more egalitarian societies; and these vary according to the socioeconomic and political conditions prevailing in each country.

Irrespective of the heterogeneity of their social protection systems, we believe it is important for all countries to enhance knowledge on the design of public policies aimed at constructing universal social protection, in which access to benefits is based on membership of the community, or citizenship (Filgueira, 2013). For that reason, the objective of the international seminar “Public Policies for Equality: Towards Universal Social Protection Systems”, which was held in Montevideo, Uruguay, on 4 and 5 December 2013 (see programme in annex 1), was to foster the debate on and the construction of universal social protection systems in the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean; disseminate the good practices currently being applied in those countries and in Norway; and discuss the main challenges faced by social protection.¹

Given these seminar objectives, following the inaugural session (see section I of the document), presentations were made on the exemplary experiences of Uruguay, Norway, Ecuador and Brazil (see sections II and III); the regional panorama and recent innovations in social protection (see section IV);

¹ The presentations and videos of the different sessions are available, along with discussion papers, at the seminar website (<http://dds.cepal.org/proteccionsocial/sistemas-de-proteccion-social/2013-12-seminario-politicas-publicas-igualdad/>).

and the measurement of social protection (see section V). Discussions were also held on three of the issues that are critical for achieving universal social protection, namely solidarity-based financing (see section VI), comprehensiveness—in terms of articulating the components of social protection and interagency coordination (see section VII)—and the rights approach (see section VIII). The seminar concluded with a panel on key issues relating to the challenges and prospects of social protection, such as the tension between targeting and universalism, modalities for articulating the contributory and non-contributory components, and the relation between economic policy and social policy (see section IX).

As noted by the Minister of Social Development of Uruguay, Daniel Olesker, and by the Director of the Social Development Division of ECLAC, Martín Hopenhayn, the fact that the seminar has been held in Uruguay is highly symbolic: firstly, because a report entitled “Facing the future of social protection: access, financing and solidarity” (ECLAC, 2006) was presented at the 31st session of ECLAC, held in Montevideo, Uruguay, in March 2006, which placed the topic of rights-based social protection sustained by a solidarity pillar at the centre of the regional debate; secondly, because over its history Uruguay has built one of the region’s most firmly established social protection systems, which has been reformed and expanded in recent years (see the presentation by Daniel Olesker, III.A); and thirdly, but no less importantly, because Uruguay has achieved one of the lowest levels of income inequality in the region, as evidenced by its Gini coefficient of 0.38 in 2012 (ECLAC, 2013).

It is also no coincidence that the seminar was sponsored by the Government of Norway. According to the World Development Indicators published by the World Bank, the Gini coefficient achieved by Norway in the early 2000s (0.25) is the lowest on the planet. Moreover, as Anne Margrethe Sønneland describes in her presentation (see II.B), Norway has a long track record in social protection, which it has been expanding since 1945 thanks to a strong role played by the State.

With this document, we hope to be able to transmit—at least partially—the wealth of the presentations and the debates that took place during the seminar. Uruguay’s experience was described in detail not only through the presentations by Daniel Olesker (see I.C, II.A and IX), but also those of: Andrea Vigorito, Research Fellow at the Institute of Economy, Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, University of the Republic, on the main results of the impact assessment made of the Family Allowances – Equity Plan (see IV.C); Ernesto Murro, President of Banco de Previsión Social, on the solidarity-based financing of social protection (see V.C); Juan Pablo Labat, Director of Evaluation and Monitoring at the Ministry of Economic and Social Development (MIDES), on information systems for social protection (see VI.C); Mariana Drago, Director of Interdepartmental Coordination at MIDES, on the *Jóvenes en Red* and *Cercanías* interagency programmes (see VII.C); Andrés Scagliola, MIDES Director of Social Policies, on universal policies, targeted programmes and affirmative actions in social protection in Uruguay (see VIII.C); and Cristina Lustemberg, Coordinator of the Uruguay Crece Contigo [Uruguay grows with you] programme, on the integrated early childhood protection system (see VII.D).

In addition to Uruguayan and Norwegian case studies, presentations were also made by Solange Teixeira of the Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger of Brazil, on the Bolsa Família conditional cash-transfer programme that has made a significant contribution to reducing poverty and inequality in that country, and the *Brasil Sem Miséria* programme which promotes a systemic vision and integration of social assistance policies; and by Andrés Mideros, adviser to Ecuador’s Secretary of National Planning and Development, on progress made in reducing poverty and inequality in his country.

The regional perspective was provided by Martín Hopenhayn, who considered the topic of social inequalities and the challenges they pose for social protection; and by Fábio Veras Soares, who discussed the diversity of conditional cash transfer programmes and their possible future paths (see section IV). The issue of financing was discussed by Fernando Filgueira, who presented a technical and political approach to social-solidarity-driven taxation in the region; and by Javier Curcio, who discussed the problems of financing social protection in economies that have high levels of informality (see section V). The measurement of social protection was addressed by Rodrigo Martínez, who gave a presentation on the characteristics and challenges of measuring social protection in Latin America and the Caribbean; and by Maddalena Honorati, who presented the World Bank’s Atlas of Social Protection Indicators of Resilience and Equity (ASPIRE) (see section VI). The comprehensiveness of social protection was

considered by Simone Cecchini, from a conceptual standpoint, and by Fabián Repetto, with a more political approach (see section VII). Lastly, in relation to the rights approach, Magdalena Sepúlveda presented the discussion paper on the rights approach in social protection in Latin America; and Nieves Rico discussed social protection and the rights of the child (see section VIII).

The seminar was attended by leading academics and researchers, including Armando Barrientos, Enrique Valencia Lomelí, Rubén Lo Vuolo and Carmen Midaglia, who served as commentators and took part in the closing panel, along with officials from governments and international organisations, all of whom brought their critical scrutiny to the debate (see the biographical sketches of the presenters in annex 1). Three papers were prepared as inputs for the debate: one each by Daniel Olesker (“The social protection system in Uruguay”), Fernando Filgueira (“Towards a universal social protection model in Latin America”) and Magdalena Sepúlveda (“The rights approach to social protection in Latin America”).

I. Opening session of the seminar

A. *Thorstein Wangen*, Consul, Royal Norwegian Embassy

It is a great pleasure to be here in Montevideo, Uruguay, to attend this seminar on universal social protection. The seminar reflects three major pillars of Norway's foreign policy. The first is the multilateral pillar: the United Nations and related organizations have always been a priority in Norway's foreign policy; and for that reason, 50% of our international cooperation funding goes directly to multilateral entities. Secondly, Norway is supporting regional-scale projects, in this case with the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), which also works hands-on with several countries, in this case through the Ministry of Social Development here in Uruguay. And, thirdly, the topic of this seminar, social protection, represents the main pillar of our domestic policy, and also of foreign policy in terms of Norwegian cooperation. For that reason, I hope today's meeting will prove an important seminar, with interesting discussions and positive results.

B. *Martín Hopenhayn*, Director of the Social Development Division, ECLAC

Over the last three years, ECLAC has been working continuously with the Ministry of Social Development of Uruguay on various social protection topics, but with an emphasis on care networks. Uruguay has been very active in the social-policy domain and represents an important case study for us, because it is the most equal of all Latin American countries and has been a regional pioneer in terms of social protection, with a strong welfare-state vocation. It was also in Uruguay that in 2006 ECLAC launched its book "Facing the future of social protection: access, financing and solidarity", which served as a catalyst for an issue that has claimed increasing protagonism in public-policy agendas: social protection systems, the rights approach, basic universalism, and the importance of the solidarity pillar.

At the same time, it is highly positive that this seminar is being held as part of the collaboration between ECLAC and the Norwegian government; for while Uruguay has the lowest Gini coefficient in Latin America, Norway has the lowest in the world. The Norwegian social protection system is one of

the most highly developed globally —just as Uruguay’s is for Latin America— and it is supplemented by wage-compression agreements, such that the combination of the two pillars is the likely cause of a distribution of income and risks that is an example to the world. Norwegians have also clearly understood that natural-resource governance is crucial for promoting welfare and preventing excessive concentration of income — a topic that is highly relevant for equality in South America, given the raw materials boom. Norway also excels for its handling of gender equality, and specifically for the way it regulates policies that have been transforming gender roles inside families, which is always difficult. For these reasons, the exchange with Norway — despite the different starting points and disparities in social spending per capita — is very useful for setting guidelines and evaluating “by contrast”.

ECLAC considers it essential to link equality to social protection systems. We know that inequality in the region is longstanding and that there are “factories” and circuits that reproduce inequality (ECLAC, 2012). Segmented social protection can be seen as a corollary of those “factories”; but this does not mean one cannot, at the same time, in a dialectic relation, take firm action to redistribute (as many European countries do), and send positive signals to those “factories”. For example, one can study how to synergetically link social protection to capacity building, and strive, through care policies, to increase the participation rate of underprivileged sectors. This is what ECLAC is investing in: putting inequality and social protection on both sides of the virtuous equation.

For that reason, not just any social protection or any criterion will do. We inherited a welfare- and subsidiarity-based paradigm, with a private-sector bias; and the reforms and adjustments made to it had little social impact and were part of two decades when inequality worsened. Now we must take advantage of the rebound. The focus is increasingly shifting towards universal-type social protection, founded on rights, with a progressive redistributive impact, benchmarked on a minimum welfare level linked to the notion of social citizenship. The change in Latin America’s political map has made it possible to break free from the single model and change the ideological hegemony. This does not mean returning to pre-neoliberal paradigms; instead that we are opening up room for manoeuvre to create the future. In this context, social protection is being repositioned with greater emphasis on “system”, “social inclusion” and “gap reduction” requirements, and a concern not only for poverty but also for vulnerability.

With this backdrop, this seminar is riding the crest of a wave. We want to draw on international experience both inside and outside the region, precisely because it broadens the perspective of what we want to and can propose, from a world that is changing in this regard and is prolific in new practices. Secondly, we are interested in deepening key aspects, such as the solidarity-based financing of social protection, the comprehensive nature of the system, how to incorporate the rights approach better or to a greater extent, and how to measure social protection more effectively.

C. Daniel Olesker, Minister of Social Development, Uruguay

A few months ago, Fernando Filgueira contacted me to say that ECLAC was thinking of doing something important on social protection systems and considered Uruguay a good place to do it. From then on, with a team led by Victoria Tenenbaum that we formed in MIDES, we started to develop the idea of a seminar in which we would be able to address all of the issues mentioned by Martín Hopenhayn, such as financing, comprehensiveness, the link between universal and targeted policies — in other words the set of issues that comprise what today thankfully we refer to as social protection systems, rather than the more limited 1990s notion of social protection actions.

We see this as an excellent opportunity, because the list of topics includes not only general case-studies, such as Uruguay and Norway, but also specific issues such as the *Brasil Sem Miséria* [Brazil without misery] programme and social policy in Ecuador. In short, a variety of issues will be addressed that involve crosscutting and general views of social policy

I would like to echo something that Martín Hopenhayn said at the end of his remarks: it is no coincidence that we are holding this seminar today; it is not by chance that we can reflect on social protection policies that are relatively universal; and it is no surprise that social policy has gained an

important role in the public debate. This is the result of the institutional and political changes that our countries have gone through. The targeted, reprivatising policies that emerged from the Washington Consensus, and which set the rules of the game for social policies in the 1990s, were mirrored institutionally by governments that developed those policies, in a rationale that to some extent summarises the historical materialism of the link between institutional frameworks and public policies and the underlying economic interests.

Today we are in a different situation, and it is our duty to take advantage of this and rise to the political situation that exists in nearly all South American countries to a greater or lesser extent. It is our duty to take advantage of the distributive focus of public policy to generate better conditions for moving towards societies in which equality plays a leading role. I remember that, in 1990, I had the opportunity to discuss the ECLAC document “Productive restructuring with equity” with Enzo Faletto. That publication railed against emptiness: it made a huge number of proposals that fell by the wayside. In contrast, when one now reads “Structural change for equality”, which would be the current version of “Productive restructuring with equity”, it is clear that in fact this document did not fall on deaf ears and that many of its proposals are now the order of the day in public policies, which they certainly were not at the time. This change is significant; political change is relevant; and, as I said, it is our duty today to formulate policies that make national and regional contributions to moving it forward. This is what we will be talking about during the seminar.

II. Universal social protection from an international perspective (first panel)

A. The social protection system in Uruguay

***Daniel Olesker,
Minister of Social Development, Uruguay***

Uruguay's reform of its social protection system, known as "reforma social", is based on five pillars:

1. The first guiding pillar of the reform involved the transition from a social protection system based on the idea that each person is protected according to his or her income, to one in which everyone is protected according to their needs. This means, firstly, that the beneficiaries of social policy contribute to its financing according to their income (either through taxes, as in the case of education, or through social security contributions, as in the case of health care); and, secondly, they receive benefits according to their needs, which are generally associated with their age, gender, geographical location and household size.
2. The second pillar is universal access. This means that policies are designed for everyone in the country. Actions are not targeted to respond to a specific problem, but are applicable to the converging situations of all people. Equality, in conjunction with universality, means different financial contributions premised on the notion that he/she who has more pays more; but this does not preclude the setting of priorities in the policy-formulation process. From this standpoint, targeting and affirmative actions of all kinds serve as a tool for moving towards universal systems. Thus, the apparent contradiction between universality and targeting is resolved when, as in our case, universal policies are designed that are adequately adapted to different specific needs, prioritizing the most vulnerable sectors to achieve inclusive social protection (see table 1).
3. The third component of a social policy is the leadership provided by the State. It has been amply demonstrated (and Uruguay in 1990s is a living example of this) that the market is

not good at generating social inclusion and socially fair access to social benefits. Only the State can guarantee universality (without political leadership, no one would invest in a multipurpose clinic in the countryside); social justice (only the State could collect revenue and then spend it according to priorities); and accessibility.

4. The fourth component of an inclusive social policy is social participation; in other words the idea that people organized in different ways (labour unions, user organizations, women's organizations, among others) participate in the three phases of social policies, namely design, execution and decision-making.
5. Lastly, a larger budget is needed to provide additional resources for social-policy development.

Based on these five pillars, the sectoral approach needs to be considered, to meet needs for social public goods (health, education, housing, etc.) and, at the same time, take account of the integrated dialectic of universal services, affirmative actions and targeted actions. Pre-2005, social policies in Uruguay were fragmented; there was virtually no coordination, and social protection consisted merely of a summation of benefits with very little budgetary funding.

Today it is up to sector-level providers, in health care for instance, to decide how to manage expenditure under a budget set by the Ministry of Economy. This represents a radical change. In terms of the beneficiary populations, attempts are being made to break with the income-poverty concept and move towards the notion of vulnerability. Three target-population groups were defined: (i) the first, consisting of 100% of the country's population, on which universal systems act; (ii) a second group consisting of population segments living in poverty or who are vulnerable to poverty (the concept of vulnerability is basically associated with the structural aspects of their life, which cannot be improved by increasing income); and (iii) a segment on which the most intensively targeted policies act. These are groups that are vulnerable to situations of extreme poverty, structural poverty or indigence, and represent roughly 5% of the country's total population.

Within the social protection matrix (see table 1), education and social protection are two examples of policies with measures targeting the most vulnerable sectors. In the education sector, Uruguay created a universal school system which already had significant levels of universality, although the budget was cut in the reform introduced by Germán Rama, which destroyed the public education system. This government started to rebuild the sector and made several innovations in tertiary education. In addition, a coordinated and articulated system was set up, which formulated joint policies. But there was also a problem of keeping students in the system, for which MIDES, in conjunction with the public education administration, put together a set of programmes to discourage dropout at each level. This reflects an integrated view of reconnection with the education system. In addition, in the social protection system, many programmes (all of those with footnote a in table 1) are targeted on the first income quintile, to act on the three key variables, namely access to housing, formalisation of employment, and the household's educational environment.

I would like to conclude this presentation by mentioning the effort that has been made in producing this matrix, on which the rows show sectoral benefits and the columns show targeted policies, which are mutually linked (see table 1). This matrix attempts to demonstrate that, in practice, a universal social protection system does exist, with a set of targeted programmes serving as a gateway to universal benefits. The problems arising from it do not stem from its systemic construction, integrated approach, or institutional work; but they basically concern capacities to forge those paths, which is what we will consider from now on as we continue to delve further into this topic.

TABLE 1
MATRIX OF SOCIAL PROTECTION IN URUGUAY

Matrix of social protection in Uruguay				
Policy sector	Universal		Targeted	
	Institutional framework/policies	Organizations	Institutional framework/policies	Organizations
Education	National Public Education System	Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC)	Community Teachers Programme (PMC)	Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC)
		National Public Education Administration (ANEP)	Educational Transport	
		University of the Republic	Training and Production Centre	National Public Education Administration (ANEP)
		Technological University	Community Classrooms Programme (PAC)	
		Basic Vocational Training (FPB)	Ministry of Social Development (MIDES)	
		Educational Commitment		
Health	National Integrated Health System (SNIS)	Ministry of Public Health (MSP)	Strengthening of the First-Tier Care Network (RAP)	Ministry of Public Health (MSP)
		State Health Services Administration (ASSE)	Rural Health	State Health Services Administration (ASSE)
		Clinical Hospital	Inter In	Ministry of Social Development (MIDES)
		Military Health	Health Advisory Board	National Public Education Administration (ANEP)
		Police Health	Health of persons held in custody	
Housing	Public housing system	Ministry of Housing, Land Management and the Environment (MVOTMA)	Quota subsidies	Ministry of Housing, Land Management and the Environment (MVOTMA)
		Banco Hipotecario del Uruguay (BHU)	Self- construction programme	Banco Hipotecario del Uruguay (BHU)
		Housing agency	Rural housing	Housing agency
			Rent subsidies regularization settlements	Movement for the Eradication of Unhealthy Rural Housing (MEVIR)
				Irregular Settlements Integration Programme (PIA)
Labour	Law on collective bargaining and other laws Social economy of worker self-management	Ministry of Employment and Social Security (MTSS)	Employment objective	Ministry of Employment and Social Security (MTSS)
		Ministry of Social Development (MIDES)	<i>Uruguay Trabaja</i> [Uruguay works]	MIDES
			Productive Entrepreneurship	
			Youth Employment Law	
		Quotas law for the Afrodescendent population	MEC	
Protection	Care systems under construction: • Comprehensive Childhood and Family Health Care Centre (CAIF) • New Longstay Home Regulation • Personal assistants for disability • Training of care providers • New law on parental leave	Ministry of Social Development (MIDES)	Family Allowances (AFAM)	Ministry of Employment and Social Security (MTSS)
		Minister of Employment and Social Security (MTSS)	Noncontributory pensions	Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC)
		Ministry of Public Health (MSP)	Multiple actions with persons held in custody	Ministry of Public Health (MSP)
		Uruguayan Institute for Children and Adolescents (INAU)	Multiple actions with persons held in custody	Ministry of the Interior (MI)

Table 1 (conclusion)

Policy sector	Matrix of social protection in Uruguay			
	Universal		Targeted	
	Institutional framework/policies	Organizations	Institutional framework/policies	Organizations
		Banco de Previsión Social (BPS)	Multiple actions with children and adolescents Help for the elderly Uruguay Social Card (TUS) ^a Youth in network ^a <i>Uruguay Crece Contigo</i> ^a <i>Cercanías</i> ^a [Proximities] Persons to Assist Street People (PASC) ^a	National Public Education Administration (ANEP) State Health Services Administration (ASSE) Banco de Previsión Social (BPS)

Source: Olesker (2013), The social protection system in Uruguay, presented at the international seminar "Public policies for equality: towards universal social protection systems", Executive Tower of the Office of the President of the Republic, Montevideo, Uruguay 4 and 5 December 2013 [online], http://www.mides.gub.uy/innovaportal/file/24880/1/olesker_el_sistema_de_proteccion_social_en_uruguay.pdf.

^a Target population: the first quintile of the income distribution.

B. The social protection system in Norway

**Anne Margarethe Sønneland,
University of Oslo**

To talk of social protection systems in Norway is to talk of the welfare state: according to the Esping-Andersen categories, Norway has a social-democratic or universal welfare regime, which is characterised by the central role played by the State and a high degree of de-marketisation (Esping-Andersen, 1990). We can talk of a welfare state as such since 1945: the period from 1945 until the 1970s was the era of expansion of the welfare state; from 1970s onwards we can talk of its consolidation (Hjelmtveit, 2005; Stamsø, 2005).

The Norwegian model is dominated by universal systems, in which all citizens have the right to a basic and relatively high level of social security and services, irrespective of their labour-market status (Nørgård and Rønning, 2013). Universal systems include the health and education systems and also pensions, among others. Norway's welfare state is generally intensive in services rather than cash transfers; the public sector is largely a service provider (Kjølørød, 2005).

The welfare state tends to be viewed as based on four pillars: health, education, social security and social services. The health and education systems are State responsibilities and mostly public. Since the 1980s, there has also been a private health system, and there are also private schools (Kjølørød, 2005; Hernes and Hippe, 2007; Kjølørød, 2010). The old-age pension is universal, and since 1967 it has provided a basic pension for the entire population. This basic pension is augmented by a contributory component linked to the contributions made through payroll taxes (Hjelmtveit, 2005; Hernes and Hippe, 2007). There are several systems to support people who are outside the labour market. Unemployment subsidies are contributory, and their amount depends on previous participation in the labour market. One can discern a shift towards greater control in systems targeting people who, for various reasons, are outside the labour market (Botten, Elvebakken and Kildal, 2003).

Policies to strengthen families and provide good conditions for children have been heavily emphasized in the last few decades, and economic transfers to families with children have increased.

Every child under six years of age is entitled to attend a play school. This is seen as an advantage for the children and also enables their parents to work (Dølvik, 2007); it is also considered an advantage for immigrant children, because it enables them to learn the Norwegian language.

The postnatal parental leave system includes economic transfers for families with children under one year of age, so that one of the parents can be at home looking after the child during his/her first year of life. The system pursues gender equality, granting 12 weeks' leave specifically to the father and 14 to the mother, while the remaining 59 weeks are divided between the two parents at their discretion. Since the introduction of exclusive period for fathers, most take these 12 weeks to be with their children. Kotsadam and Finseraas (2011) claim that these policies have elicited changes in attitudes among fathers, making them more likely to share domestic chores, and have also led to fewer disputes over the division of household work. In the last 10 years particularly, fathers in families with small children have been spending more time on domestic chores and childcare (Dølvik mfl, 2007; Kitterød and Rønsen, 2013).

The Norwegian model is based on high labour-market participation rates, with the welfare state being financed through taxes. Overall 78% of the population between 50 and 63 years of age are in the labour market — 80.1% of all men and 75.8% of all women (Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2013).

Public policies encourage labour-market participation. The right to work, and the obligation to work if possible, have always been important; although the so-called “work line” has been an important element in public policies explicitly since 1992. The “work line” includes systems of services and support for families, together with programmes to support people who are at risk of dropping out of the labour market. Relatively generous unemployment and disability subsidies aim to ensure a decent life for people who for various reasons cannot work (Dølvik mfl, 2007; Fløtten 2007; Nørgård and Rønning, 2013). At the same time, the labour market is highly regulated; and there is what Falkum and Grimsrud (2007) call a cooperation model, which consists, among other things, of an agreement between employee organisations, employer organisations and the government, to regulate wages, dispute-settlement mechanisms, and employee participation in decision-making.

The welfare state —particularly in terms of universal systems— enjoys strong public support (Hernes and Hippe, 2007). One of the explanations for this is that the welfare state suits the middle-class. In this type of welfare state, economic transfers go mostly on social services in general and services such as pensions, health and education in particular, which benefit all or the vast majority of the population (Rothstein, 2010).

C. Comments

**Armando Barrientos,
University of Manchester**

Since the early years of the twenty-first century, there has been a major change in social protection systems in Latin America, with the implementation of large-scale direct cash-transfer programmes targeting households living in poverty or extreme poverty. Cash-transfer programmes to promote human development have loomed large in the national and regional debate. The pioneering programmes, *Progresal/Oportunidades* in Mexico and *Bolsa Escola/Bolsa Família* in Brazil, currently benefit about one quarter of all households, while Ecuador's Human Development Grant reaches 40% of that country's population. Other programmes have also grown; and many countries have expanded their non-contributory pension programmes, which represent a more traditional form of social assistance. More recently, transfer programmes targeting children in Uruguay and Argentina have been redesigned and upgraded. Integrated poverty reduction programmes such as the National Social Emergency Response Plan (PANES) in Uruguay or *Ingreso Ético Familiar/Chile Solidario* [Ethical Family Income/Solidarity Chile] in Chile, take a different approach to the design of these public policies; and, in practice, there is considerable diversity in the design of transfer programmes to combat poverty in Latin America

Social protection is conceptualized in two components: (i) social security, based on the contributory principle, which aims to protect workers and their dependants from the effects of contingencies associated with the life cycle and labour-market risks; and (ii) social assistance, based on the principle of citizenship, financed out of tax revenue and aimed at overcoming poverty. A third component consists of the employment policies that have been developing rapidly in high-income countries.

The shift of attention towards social assistance in the decade of 2000 in Latin America is fully justified. At the turn of the century, one in every two workers in the region were in informal jobs, and just one in four workers regularly contributed to a pension fund. The region's social protection regimes have been described as truncated, because they only benefited groups with formal jobs. It was logical to target the expansion of social protection coverage on groups that were excluded from social security, as advocated long ago in the specialised literature. The rationale for this change is strengthened by the return to democratic institutional arrangements and the "swing to the left" in the governing coalitions. Political, economic and social inclusion has become a priority in the region's social policies.

The extension of social protection to low-income and informal sectors through social assistance has resulted in a segmentation of social protection, with social security covering middle-income and formal workers on the one hand, and social assistance providing weaker protection to the rest of population on the other. The expansion of social assistance is generating institutions alongside social security, as reflected in the formation of Ministries of Social Development.

Latin America's emerging social assistance is distinguished from the classical social assistance of the "golden age" of welfare regimes in European countries, given the attention paid in the design of the programmes to incentives for accumulating human capital and generally developing the productive capacity of poverty-stricken groups. In fact, as confirmed by the seminar presentation on the evolution of the Norwegian protection system, modern-day social assistance links the protection of living standards to the improvement of productive capacity among all sectors of the population. In societies that generate poverty and inequality, redistributing consumption will never be an appropriate response. The essential factors are equitable redistribution of opportunities and human development, which highlights the need to link income transfers to access to public services and to economic and social inclusion.

In countries of the region that have more advanced and broad-coverage social security institutions, there is an increasing need to integrate social security and social assistance. Initiatives in Argentina and Uruguay (*Asignaciones Familiares* – Child Allowances), Chile (*Pensión Solidaria* – Solidarity Pension) aim to complement social security programmes with a social assistance component. By monitoring these experiences it will be possible to assess their effectiveness and equity. In countries of the region that have limited social security coverage, the priority is to strengthen the scope and institutionality of social assistance to establish a solid and inclusive level of protection.

III. Universal social protection internationally (second panel)

A. *From Bolsa Família to Brasil Sem Miséria*

**Solange Teixeira,
Ministry of Social Development, Brazil**

In the 1970s the first non-contributory social protection instrument was created in Brazil, targeting small-scale rural producers, disabled persons and older adults. Nonetheless, it was only after the return of democracy and the passing of the 1988 Constitution that social security was established as a fundamental right. Health, pensions and social services, associated with education, work and employment policies, comprise a complex of rights that have to be upheld through public policies. In the case of health, the user-free public care system was set up, which is universal and comprehensive, supplemented by private services.

In terms of social protection policies, the 1988 Constitution changed the role of the federal government in terms of execution, financing and coordination; a decentralised execution arrangement was put in place which gave responsibility to the municipalities, but this created a permanent coordination challenge between different institutional levels.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the first conditional income transfer programmes started to appear. *Bolsa Escola* [School subsidy] and *Bolsa Alimentação* [Food subsidy] were created in 2001 for the social protection of children, managed by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health, respectively. Implementation of these programmes went hand-in-hand with the creation of the single register (*Cadastro Unico*), which registers all families, not only those with children, and allows them to access the federal government's social programmes.

In 2003 all of these schemes were consolidated into a single programme known as *Bolsa Família*. This conditional cash transfer programme is based on three objectives: (i) immediate poverty alleviation, through direct cash transfers to families; (ii) a contribution to breaking the intergenerational cycle of the

reproduction of poverty, through the conditionalities; and (iii) the development of family potentials through complementary programmes.

Bolsa Família provides direct cash transfers to poor and extremely poor families, but not to their members separately. The benefit is paid to the woman, and the household has full autonomy to manage the proceeds. In return, the families undertake to fulfil the health and education conditionalities for their children. Families remain in the programme for as long as their income remains below the eligibility threshold, and there is no time limit on their stay. It has been suggested that the programme discourages labour-market participation and encourages having children, but various studies and impact evaluations have shown this not to be the case.

The *Bolsa Família* programme is managed jointly between the different administrative levels. The federal government transfers resources to the municipalities, for them to manage *Bolsa Família* at the municipal level. While all families with children between seven and 15 years of age living in the municipalities have access to the programme, the more effectively it is managed by the municipalities the more they receive.

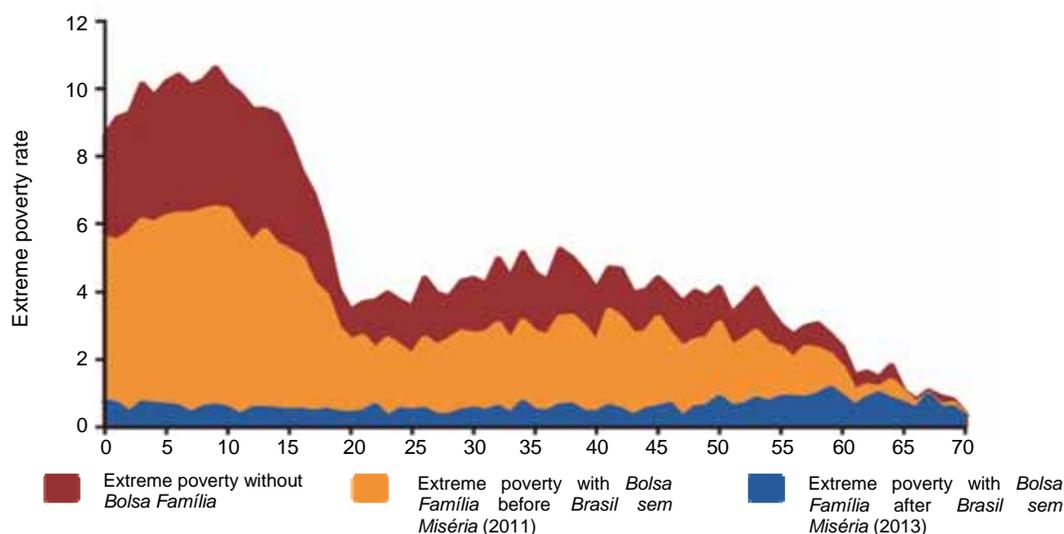
In 2012, the *Brasil Sem Miséria* (BSM) [Brazil without misery] plan was created, co-ordinated by the Ministry of Social Development and Fight Against Hunger (MDS) through the Special Extreme Poverty Eradication Department (SESEP). This plan encompasses over 100 actions undertaken by 22 ministries, which poses a coordination challenge. *Brasil Sem Miséria* is not focused solely on *Bolsa Família*, but constitutes a social protection network for families living in situations of poverty and social vulnerability. The BSM covers 915,000 people previously living outside the social-policy perimeter. It also has productive inclusion programmes adapted to the needs of urban beneficiaries. These programmes encompass PRONATEC, which has over 819,000 affiliates registered in vocational training programmes, the Individual Microentrepreneurs Programme (MEI) and the *Creceer* [Grow] programme, which gives opportunities for structuring and expanding business projects supported by micro-credits. For productive inclusion in the rural area, BSM has programmes such as *Bolsa Verde* [Green subsidy]. Lastly, BSM has strengthened the social assistance network, particularly targeting early childhood care, through programmes such as *Brasil Carinhoso* [Caring Brazil].

Despite preconceptions, *Bolsa Família* beneficiaries display high labour-market participation rates: over 70% of beneficiaries of at least 16 years of age are either working or actively looking for a job. In addition, the impact evaluations show that the programme does not discourage labour-market participation by its beneficiaries, nor does it encourage a higher birthrate among beneficiary households. Nonetheless, the programme continues to face a number of challenges. In terms of implementation, there are disparities between the federative entities (with respect to capacities, management, commitments, etc.) and a lack of coordination and harmonisation between the various institutions responsible.

Another unresolved challenge is to turn social protection policies such as *Bolsa Família* into a State policy, thereby making it more likely that they will be maintained, irrespective of the orientation of the government of the day, and making them less susceptible to funding cuts. It is also necessary to ensure transparency in the use of resources and accountability for the process. Lastly, through social promotion, opportunities need to be created to enable *Bolsa Família* families to engage in the productive domain.

Bolsa Família is generating highly positive results. Thanks to its effective targeting, it has reached the families in its target public, thereby helping to reduce extreme poverty (see figure 1) and inequality: the programme has been responsible for a 21% reduction in inequality between 2003 and 2005. Moreover, the benefits provided by *Bolsa Família* have increased incomes among the beneficiary families. While the average income growth has been 49%, the impact has been even greater for extremely poor families. In addition, the fact that the benefit is received regularly encourages family budget planning. In education and health, the programme also claims positive impacts. Every two months, checks are made to ensure that the 15 million *Bolsa Família* students are attending school. The various impact evaluations that have been made of the programme show that *Bolsa Família* beneficiary students also display better school progress and lower dropout rates than non-beneficiaries. In health, the programme is helping to reduce child mortality, particularly when its causes are related to malnutrition and diarrhoea.

FIGURE 1
BRAZIL: REDUCTION IN EXTREME POVERTY BY AGE



Source: Social Studies and Policies Directorate (DISOC)/Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA). Prepared on the basis of data from the 2011 National Sample-Based Household Survey (PNAD) implemented by the Brazilian Geography and Statistical Institute (IBGE).

B. Social protection and poverty eradication in Ecuador

Andrés Ivan Mideros, SENPLADES, Ecuador

Recent years have seen major achievements in reducing poverty and inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean. These have occurred in a context of sustained economic growth, but have also benefited from the consolidation of public policies that promote equality and (re)distribution, and which aim to move on from the false “struggle” against poverty and take up the historical challenge of liberating the region from this scourge.

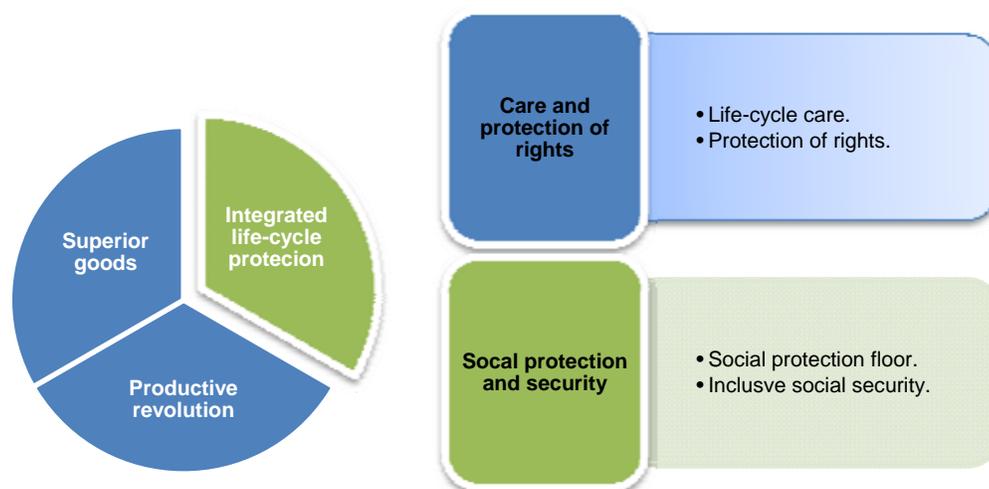
Over the last few years, Ecuador has achieved the second largest poverty reduction in the region, and it is one of the few countries to have reduced poverty and inequality simultaneously. The government of the Republic of Ecuador has made poverty eradication, and particularly extreme poverty, a moral imperative. Achieving these goals and sustaining the achievements in a changing economic environment poses significant challenges.

Firstly the productive matrix needs to be transformed, to generate greater value added, break free from commodity dependency, close productivity gaps, promote full employment, strengthen knowledge management (as an unlimited resource), modulate aggregate demand and promote regional integration. Secondly, there is a need to create and consolidate inclusive social protection and security systems (which include everyone irrespective of their attachment to a labour market), and which support inclusion (they generate equality, promote capacities and build opportunities).

Pursuant to one of the mandates of the National Planning Council, Ecuador uses the National Strategy for Equality and Poverty Eradication (*Estrategia Nacional para la Igualdad y la Erradicación de la Pobreza – ENIEP*) as a tool for implementing the National Plan for Good Living 2013-2017 (*Plan Nacional para el Buen Vivir 2013-2017 – PNBV*). The ENIEP has three components for eradicating various forms of poverty and vulnerability. The first involves the supply of superior goods (those that guarantee rights such as health, education, habitat, housing, water and sanitation) of good quality

throughout national territory. The second is the productive and labour-market revolution, which entails generating capacities, reducing unemployment, and promoting the agrarian revolution and financial inclusion. Lastly, the third component pursues integrated protection for the life cycle, through social protection and security, care and protection of rights (see figure 2).

FIGURE 2
ECUADOR: NATIONAL STRATEGY FOR EQUALITY AND POVERTY ERADICATION



Source: Prepared by the author.

Social protection and security is an end, since it is a human right and a tool for guaranteeing a decent life. Nonetheless, social protection and security is also a means of protecting people and families against situations of poverty and vulnerability. It thus halts the intergenerational transmission of poverty, helps to ease liquidity constraints and cover transport costs; and it protects productive assets and facilitates capacity-building.

In the countries of the region, where informal work is the lot of most of the economically active population, universalizing social security entails articulating contributory and non-contributory regimes. In the latter, solidarity is maintained through fiscal policy. In this framework, social protection and security is not paternalistic, but a matter of social justice and a tool of economic and social advancement and inclusion.

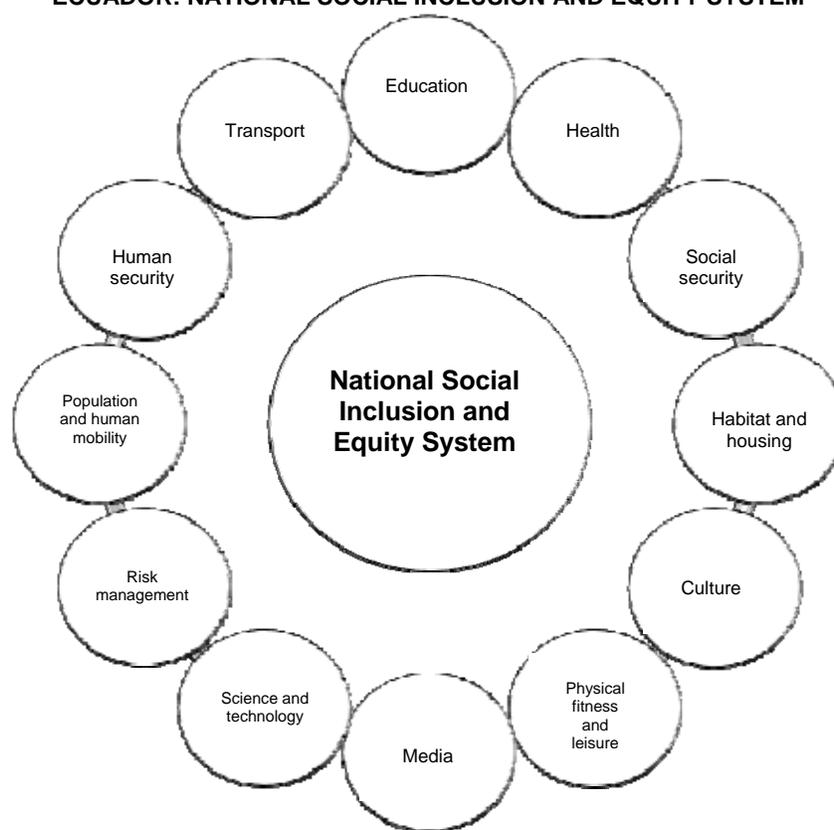
In Ecuador, major progress has been made since the creation of the *Caja de Pensiones* pension fund in 1928. In 1970 the Ecuadoran Social Security Institute (IESS) was created; in 1981 the Law on the Extension of Peasant Farmer Social Security was passed; and in 1992 and 1995 the Social Security Institutes of the Armed Forces and Police (ISSFA and ISSPOL, respectively) were created. A milestone for Ecuadoran social security was the plebiscite held in 1995, in which 47% of the population voted against the privatisation of social security, compared to 31% who voted for privatisation as an option. In 2001, the Social Security Law was passed and in 2003 the Human Development Grant (*Bono de Desarrollo Humano* – BDH) was created, along with pensions for people living in poverty (reforming the *Bono Solidario* solidarity grant, created in 1998, in compensation).

The 2008 Constitution, which was approved with 64% of the votes in a national referendum, represents a new social covenant on social protection and security. This has been materialised through the inclusion of individuals engaged in domestic work, penalisation of non-affiliation to the IESS of workers employed by others (approved in a plebiscite with 48% of votes in favour compared to 39% against). Article 3 of the Constitution establishes that the State's primary duties include guaranteeing social security without any discrimination, eradicating poverty and redistributing wealth equitably. Article 34 states that social security is an inalienable right that includes people who undertake unpaid

work, self-employment activities, autonomous work and those who are unemployed; and Article 49 includes people and families who care for persons with disabilities.

Social protection and security are framed by the *Buen Vivir* regime. While *Buen Vivir* is a mobilising idea that goes beyond traditional views of development, it is more than a welfare regime, since it does not propose minimum welfare levels but maxima in terms of the exercise of rights. Article 340 of the Constitution establishes the National Social Inclusion and Equity System, to ensure the exercise, guarantee, and enforceability of rights (see figure 3). The system requires the State to generate conditions for the comprehensive protection for persons throughout the life cycle; and it contains 12 subsystems, including those of health and social security.

FIGURE 3
ECUADOR: NATIONAL SOCIAL INCLUSION AND EQUITY SYSTEM

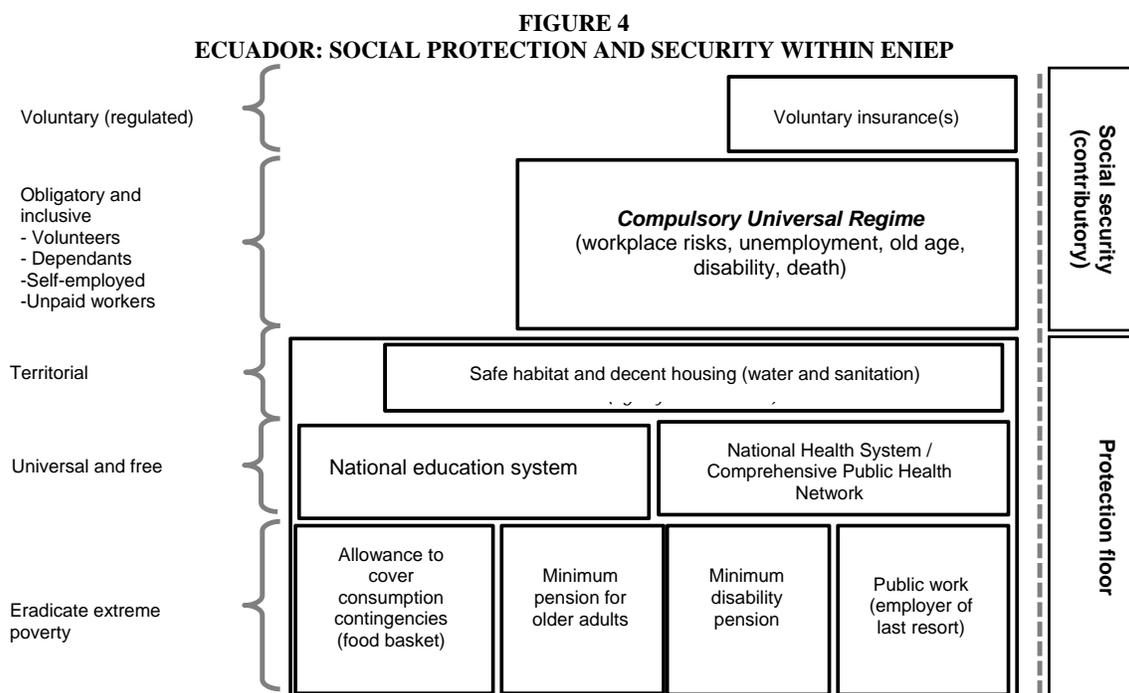


Source: Prepared by the author on the basis of the Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador.

Social protection and security in the ENIEP framework is seen as complementing the constitutional mandate, in which universalisation is pursued by consolidating a (non-contributory) social protection floor, linked to the eradication of various forms of extreme poverty (in terms of income and unmet basic needs, for example) and strengthening the contributory system based on universality and solidarity principles (see figure 4).

The consolidation of a protection floor is seen as a coverage tool for extreme poverty. Its elements include the transformation of the BDH conditional cash transfer into a social protection instrument; the consolidation of pensions for the elderly and the disabled; and the generation of active work and employment programmes linked to public investment and procurement. It also includes universal and cost-free access to public health and education services, and the universalisation of basic household utilities, particularly access to water and sanitation. In contributory social security, the challenge involves generating mechanisms, procedures, incentives and conditions to strengthen inclusion and the

compulsory nature of the universal regime for everyone, regardless of their employment status. Progress is also required in making social security more comprehensive, particularly in terms of health benefits, and ensuring fiscal sustainability with solidarity.



Source: Prepared by the author, on the basis of the National Strategy for Equality and Poverty Eradication.

The ENIEP views social protection and security as a tool of economic and social inclusion, given the expected returns in terms of capacity building (through health and education), but also by allowing for the protection and accumulation of productive assets and the promotion of employment. Several of these elements have been studied in the case of the BDH. For example, it is known that cash transfers in Ecuador have increased households' relative spending on food and education, and they have raised school enrolment and attendance rates and reduced child labour. It is also known that the transfers do not affect labour supply by adults in households that receive the transfer, and that they have been used as a tool to finance the search for adequate employment. Social protection and security also reduces costs for society at large, as shown by cost-of-hunger studies conducted by ECLAC.

Social protection and security is a fundamental tool for eradicating poverty and constructing the *Buen Vivir* programme in Ecuadoran and Latin American society; but it is also part of the need to generate integrated policies that connect social, productive and economic issues. Poverty cannot be eradicated by viewing it exclusively from the social-policy standpoint; modes of production, distribution and consumption also need to change. In the Ecuadoran case, the goal is to eradicate extreme poverty in terms of income and unmet basic needs by 2017. In December 2012, the corresponding indicators stood at 11% and 13% respectively. Furthermore, it is proposed to lower the Gini coefficient of income distribution from 0.48 in December 2012 to 0.44 by the end of 2017, to increase full-time employment from 42.8% to 55.0%, and to expand the coverage of (contributory) social security from 41.4% to 60.0% in the same period.

Achieving these goals requires changing the social policy paradigm, which is both based on and underlies productive and economic policies. It is therefore essential to generate social mobilisation and popular power to guarantee structural changes and sustain social, physical and institutional covenants. Nonetheless, in a scenario of changes in the economic cycle, it is essential not only to consolidate the goals that have been achieved, but also to propose ambitious targets to underpin a new era in the region.

The region lost several decades; now is the moment to win them back. It is time to generate equality and wave farewell to poverty.

C. Comments

**Enrique Valencia Lomelí,
Universidad de Guadalajara, Mexico**

(a) *Two important Latin American experiences of CCTs*

The two cases that have been presented today very clearly reveal the achievements and limits of conditional cash transfer programmes (CCTs) in Latin America, and highlight the need for their creative (but not destructive) transformation. These involve countries in which CCTs have gained significant coverage (around 100% of the population living in poverty in Ecuador), reaching large segments of the national population (above the Latin American average: over a quarter of the population in Brazil and just over 40% in Ecuador), and in which social investment has been among the highest in the region (particularly in Ecuador, at nearly 1% of GDP). The recent dynamic in these countries also allows them to set the goal of eradicating poverty, or at least extreme poverty. In short, they are good cases for discussion, given the coverage and investment of their CCTs. This raises the question as to what their potentials and limits are.

(b) *Two CCTs in the framework of their welfare regimes*

Both Brazil and Ecuador have a long history of institutions linked to formal employment, with access that does not favour equality: formal employment has been the gateway to social security for almost a century (since the 1920s), although this is more developed in Brazil than in Ecuador, as shown by the coverage of social-security institutions. Their capacity to incorporate social security and public institutions to address social risks was either very weak (Ecuador), or else excluded half of the economically active population and the population at large (Brazil). The creation of CCTs was implicitly seen as a new social protection system that would fill the gaps in the institutional arrangements in social security, thereby demonstrating the creation of new arrangements in these welfare regimes. Irrespective of polemics concerning the targeting-universality dichotomy, CCTs in Brazil and Ecuador brought social services to sectors that traditionally had been excluded from social security or merely from public or private protection against risks. In the course of a decade, these programmes were consolidated and focused public attention on large segments of the population that, in the past, had had to rely on their own (scarce) resources. Within a short time they approached the social security coverage rate (particularly in Ecuador), albeit with significantly fewer services (both in health and in pensions). From the standpoint of the non-regressiveness and progressiveness of the rights, the question now is how to make the current minimum services sustainable and, better still, further enhance services and the guarantee of rights.

(c) *The originality of CCTs*

Bolsa Família and the Human Development Grant (BDH) are programmes that diverge from the hegemonic or traditional CCT scheme, and they also differ from each other (for example, the BDH pays a flat transfer). Their conditionalities have been historically low (in Brazil they have become a mechanism of household support rather than exclusion); and, in practice, they have become cash transfer programmes augmented by new components, rather than classic tools of investment in human capital. CCTs have a variety of origins: *Bolsa Família* stems from municipal programmes and the action of various epistemic communities, and became a CCT with a unique design involving a high level of municipal participation (and municipal management index). In contrast, the BDH originates in agreements made with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Other CCTs are associated with constitutional changes that attempt to promote the rights approach (in 1998 in Brazil and in 2008 in Ecuador), although, paradoxically, the benefits delivered by these programmes have not been consolidated as full rights (enforceable in the courts) which raises doubts as to what mechanisms have been generated in this regard. Some CCTs have incorporated new components over time and, as a result, they have been criticised for being like a “Christmas tree” on which coloured balls are continuously being hung; but these essentially reflect the absence, weakness or recent construction of social protection mechanisms for the poor in the Brazilian and Ecuadorian welfare regimes. It could be said that these

CCTs themselves already form a social protection network based on various income transfers (not only the classic CCTs, but also for the elderly and disabled, in Ecuador; or the benefit of overcoming extreme poverty in Brazil). In Brazil, *Bolsa Família* is itself linked to highly developed programmes or benefits of non-contributory pensions for older adults.

(d) Two experiences that go beyond CCTs

Both cases involve the creation of a new institutional framework in the national social protection system, associated with a period of significant economic growth, rising real wages, and an increase in formal employment. There are also cases in which no reforms were made to social security in the context of privatisation. These two examples stand out from the others, where economic growth has been weaker or more unstable, and where real wages have been stagnant, and also without significant growth in formal employment (as in the case of Mexico). In the Mexican case particularly, the impact of the CCT has been very weak in terms of reducing poverty and inequality. Brazil and Ecuador are compared with processes in other regions, such as Korea in Asia, where wage growth has been sustained for longer than in Brazil and Ecuador (for decades at least), in a setting of greater equality. Although there are no recent examples in Latin America of such a long period of sustainable growth and rising wages, will this be achieved in the period that began with the new century? The cases analysed today raise serious doubts about the sustainability of this virtuous setting (in particular given the dependency on raw material exports, which is more evident in Ecuador).

(e) Virtuous circles in difficulty

Given the conjunction of the aforementioned elements, the results in both Ecuador and Brazil show a significant reduction in income poverty and a smaller reduction in inequality. Although the impact of CCTs on these two indicators is notable, they are not “the” factor, or even the most important one. Instead, these two examples show potentials for linkages between macroeconomic conditions that favour growth (in the first decade of the new millennium), rising wages and formal employment (and hence insurance through formal employment), together with actions such as CCTs targeting persons who have traditionally been excluded from social security systems. The sustainability of this process is now being called into question, however, when there are signs that poverty reduction is slowing both in Brazil and in Ecuador. Brazil is also experiencing a significantly slower growth, which accentuates these doubts. The macroeconomic environment is changing, owing to the influence of international factors and domestic weaknesses. Although the growth period generated formal jobs, levels of informality remain high. The reproduction of a larger virtuous space for reducing poverty and inequality is entering difficult terrain and, at the same time, it is hard to visualise full employment in the formal sector, despite the recent progress made in the countries discussed. What should be done with CCTs in this situation? Social security through formal employment in Latin America is unlikely to lead to universalisation; and, in the absence of growth or wage increases, CCTs on their own will be unlikely to produce greater inequality and less poverty (as shown by the Mexican CCT).

(f) New segmentation risks

In both countries, there are now two systems that are developing in parallel: social security — growing — and a protection network for the poor — also growing and consolidating (based on *Brasil sem Miséria* and *Buen Vivir* in Ecuador). The risk is that, in the long run, a sort of dual institutional measure is generated and consolidated: social security for the middle- and high-income sectors, and CCTs (and associated programmes) for the poor. The potential for this arrangement to achieve a durable and significant reduction in inequality is very limited, since it involves one set of institutions providing poor-quality services for poor people, and other institutions with better-quality services for people in the middle- and high-income sectors who also have the possibility of accessing marketised services. This results in segmented social institutions without a citizenship focus, and no strengthening of virtuous circles of growth/wage-increase/formal-job creation in the long term. For all of these reasons, in a dynamic of non-regressiveness and progressiveness, CCTs should increasingly be associated with the institutional framework of social security or a universal social protection scheme (for example, according to the 2008 Ecuadoran Constitution). There are various possibilities in this regard.

(g) Possible regional dilemma

Based on the experience of these countries, and raising the focus to the regional level, a question that could be asked is whether the paradoxical and dual experience — targeted institution-building in CCTs on the one hand, and promotion of the recent dynamics of universalisation in Latin America on the other— positively approaches the new potential for institutionalizing a universal protection system (framed by the heterogeneity of the region's welfare regimes), or leads negatively to the risk of a new regional slowdown with the development of segmentation and hierarchical structures, but now with a rights rhetoric. Building a coalition in support of equality and a universal approach will be crucial for resolving the uncertainty.

IV. Regional overview and recent innovations in social protection

A. Cross-inequalities: challenges for social protection

*Martin Hopenhayn,
Director, Social Development Division, ECLAC*

Although Latin America is known as the world's most unequal region, its Gini coefficient has declined in recent years, suggesting an incipient reduction in the concentration of income. Inequality is a complex phenomenon with its factories and circuits that reinforce it, as we have argued at ECLAC. For the same reason, it operates across different domains throughout the life cycle; and it is very hard to reverse, mitigate and transform the intergenerational reproduction of this set of gaps.

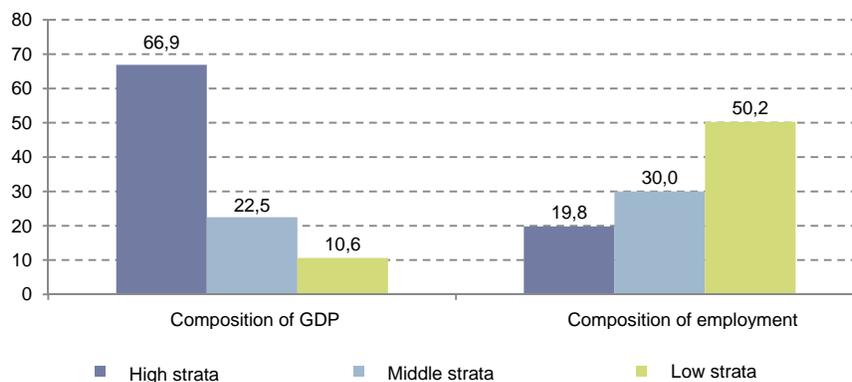
Inequality has its structural nucleus in the productive matrix, from which it propagates into many spheres. The productive matrix displays a situation that Aníbal Pinto 40 years ago referred to as Latin America's "structural heterogeneity"— a description that remains valid today despite its age. The region's productive structure is characterised by very acute productivity disparities — between firms of different sizes, between productive sectors and between formal and informal workers — which then translate into gaps in terms of labour income, working conditions, and access to social protection.

The high-productivity sector (large firms) produces two thirds of GDP; the medium-productivity sector (small and medium-sized enterprises – SMEs) generates 22%; and the low-productivity sector (microenterprises, domestic employment, self-employment) accounts for 10.6%. Nonetheless, an analysis of the distribution of employment by type of firm shows that the low-productivity sector provides 50.2% of total employment, while the high-productivity sector accounts for just 19.8% (see figure 5).

This inversely proportional relationship between productivity and the concentration of employment is what we call the "factory of inequality". Structural heterogeneity is so great because the productivity gaps, measured as a percentage of GDP, between the high-, medium- and low-productivity

sectors are very large. Nonetheless the “factory of inequality” refers above all to the inversely proportional relation that exists between the level of productivity and job creation.

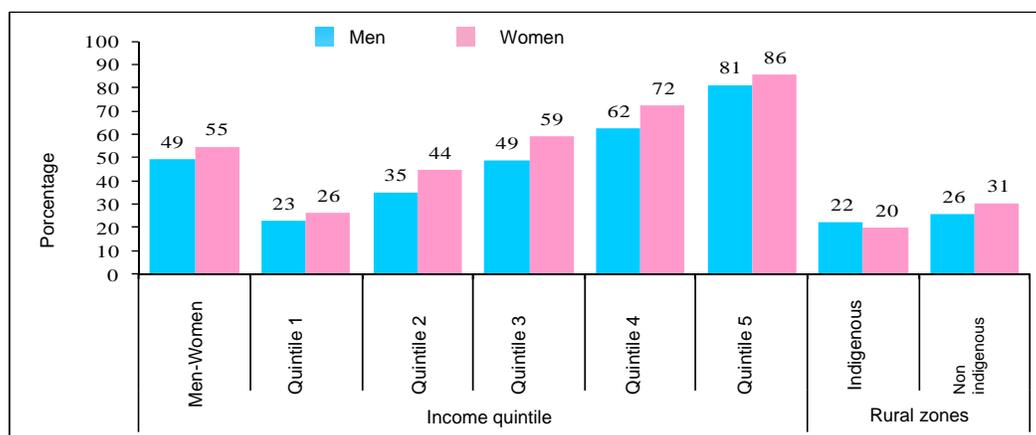
FIGURE 5
LATIN AMERICA (18 COUNTRIES): INDICATORS OF STRUCTURAL HETEROGENEITY



Source: Infante, R. “América Latina en el “Umbral del Desarrollo. Un ejercicio de convergencia productiva”. Working paper No. 14, Inclusive development project, June 2011, Santiago, Chile: ECLAC.

The counterpart of what is happening in the production and employment spheres can be seen in terms of capacities. On the productive side, the supply of and demand for labour result in heavy segmentation in terms of labour incomes and working conditions. On the capacities side, there is an even greater degree of segmentation, as eloquently exemplified by secondary education. For the average of 18 Latin American countries, just 25% of 20-24 year-olds in the first income distribution quintile (the poorest) have completed secondary school), compared to 83% in the fifth (richest) quintile (see figure 6).

FIGURE 6
COMPLETION OF UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION AMONG 20-24 YEAR OLDS, BY PER CAPITA INCOME LEVEL AND GENDER, AROUND 2008^a
(Percentages)



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of special tabulations made from the countries' household surveys.

^a The figures for indigenous and non-indigenous youth refer to eight countries and correspond to 2007.

While more women than men complete secondary education in all income quintiles, the gap between quintiles, and particularly between the two extremes is clearly very large. In tertiary education,

fewer than 1% of 25-29 year-olds from the first quintile complete five years of post-secondary education, as an average for Latin America, whereas 27% of the fifth quintile do so.

This situation is dramatic, particularly in view of rates of return in the labour market: the major rise in salaries and wages occurs once secondary schooling is complete (for example, with incomplete tertiary education and complete university education). Workers with that level of education earn above the average of labour incomes for the entire population of Latin America; but, as noted above, only one in every four young people from the first quintile complete secondary education, and only one in every 100 complete university education.

Another factor affecting the final phase of the life cycle, in particular, is the percentage of employed persons affiliated to social security. On this point, there is a huge disparity in affiliation to social security between workers in the first and the fifth quintiles, between formal and informal urban workers, and between urban and rural workers.

The incidence of poverty and extreme poverty also varies across social groups and between age groups. Extreme poverty in Latin America is much more prevalent among ethnic minorities: around 2008-2009 the rate was three times greater for indigenous groups than for non-indigenous peoples (in Panama it is five times greater). The same applies to children up to 14 years of age: the incidence of poverty is three times higher than for the rest of the population (over 14 years of age). It is also the case to a lesser extent between women and men.

Lastly, taxes and transfers have much less of a redistributive effect in Latin America than in Europe. An analysis of Gini coefficients before and after the payment of taxes and transfers shows that, on average, European Union countries succeed in lowering the Gini coefficient by over 32 points. In contrast, for a set of Latin American countries, the change in the coefficient is about four points (see table 2).

TABLE 2
LATIN AMERICA AND EUROPE (SELECTED COUNTRIES): INCOME INEQUALITY BEFORE AND AFTER
THE PAYMENT OF TAXES AND TRANSFERS, 2008
(Percentage-point change in the Gini coefficient)

Country	Percentage points
Argentina	2.0
Brazil	3.6
Chile	4.2
Colombia	7.0
Mexico	3.8
Peru	2.0
Latin America and the Caribbean (six countries)	3.8
Austria	34.2
Belgium	36.2
Denmark	40.8
Finland	34.7
France	24.4
Germany	34.9
Greece	25.0
Ireland	35.8
Italy	22.9
Luxembourg	41.5
Netherlands	33.3
Portugal	24.0
Spain	25.5
Sweden	35.6
United Kingdom	34.6
European Union (15 countries)	32.6

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of Goñi E., H. López and L. Servén (2008), "Fiscal redistribution and income inequality in Latin America", Policy Research Working Paper, No. 4487, Washington, D.C., World Bank.

Recent years have seen some social progress and an upturn in equality. There have been improvements in educational achievement, access to basic services, preventive health and basic care, along with a reduction in child malnutrition and illiteracy, and increased affiliation to social security, although this remains low. In these last few years there has also been an improvement in the distribution of labour incomes.

There is also greater political space for intervention with redistributive effects. Latin America has governments of different political hues; and the idea that the State has a role to play in social protection, labour policies and labour institutions, and is also responsible for overcoming these rigidities, is now more firmly established. Thus, for example, the tax burden has been raised substantially (from 12% to 18% on average for the region over the last two decades), poverty has been reduced, the income distribution has improved, and social spending has increased both in relation to GDP and as a share of public expenditure.

When proposing a social protection agenda with a rights approach, several aspects need to be considered: (i) direct redistribution of income from non-contributory systems to build a basic system of partially guaranteed incomes (children, families, older adults and the unemployed of working age from the formal and informal sectors); (ii) progress towards universalism in minimum thresholds and progressiveness in social protection (health and social security), gradually reducing segmentation in access and quality; (iii) the creation of a network and public supply of quality care targeting early childhood and older adults, with multiple effects. In the labour-market sphere, passive and active policies should be implemented to achieve a fairer appropriation of productivity gains and to expand the coverage of contributory social security.

Universal social protection should therefore become the core of citizenship, promoting a sense of belonging. Hence also, the importance of a universalist-progressive system for an equality of means and protection against risks.

B. Where are conditional cash transfer programmes headed?

Fábio Veras Soares,
International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth (IPC-IG), UNDP

Conditional cash transfer programmes (CCTs) are based on mechanisms for targeting the poorest households and/or those most vulnerable to poverty; they pay cash transfers and require a set of co-responsibilities; and they generally operate in the area of health and education, with the aim of achieving their twin objectives of relieving monetary poverty in the short term and breaking the cycle of intergenerational reproduction of poverty. Another very common feature of these programmes is that the benefit is paid preferably to the woman.

Nonetheless, a comparative analysis shows that CCTs in Latin American and Caribbean countries differ considerably both in their design and in the details of their implementation. The differences relate basically to the emphasis placed by these programmes on their two objectives: some prioritize poverty relief (in some cases the eradication of poverty), whereas others give preference to human capital accumulation and put heavy emphasis on co-responsibilities.

These differences are reflected in decisions relating to the design and implementation of the different components of the programme:

- Targeting based on direct or indirect verification of means, or differentiated treatment of poor and extremely poor people;
- Programmes with national coverage, or geographic targeting that restricts coverage;
- Incorporation of new beneficiaries continually (and by demand), or in predefined registration periods (and by local “trawls”);

- How the co-responsibilities are understood and implemented: based on immediate sanctions, or understood as an indicator of greater vulnerability of the families and children, requiring action by a care system linked to social assistance;
- Maximum and minimum times for staying in the programme;
- The amounts of the transfers: aimed at eradicating extreme poverty, or compensating for the opportunity cost of fulfilling the co-responsibilities;
- How the amounts transferred grow with the number of children and/or the school grades they are in, or a flat transfer to avoid childbearing incentives, but with horizontal equity implications between the beneficiary families;
- Inclusion of poor families without children of eligible age, or a programme only for poor families with children or expectant mothers;
- Existence or otherwise of complementary programmes and how these are perceived and conceived (exit routes/graduation rules).

These decisions and the choice of how the various components are implemented are not always taken on a coordinated, consistent and logical basis. In a given programme the design of one component might approximate to a programme-type that prioritises poverty relief (or eradication) in the short term, whereas another component might be more consistent with a programme typology founded essentially on the goal of increasing the human capital of children.

Another important point that distinguishes CCTs when considering their future, is how the programmes interrelate with — or are situated in — the social protection system of their respective countries. In some cases, CCTs form part of the non-contributory dimension of social protection (social assistance), along with other programmes such as social pensions; and they are complementary (not necessarily residual) in relation to contributory social security. In other countries that lack broader interventions, CCTs are the main, if not the only, component of the social protection system, on which all hopes rest for an improvement in the population's living conditions; and social interventions of all kinds get added to them, but not always on a coordinated basis.

In general, different paths for the future of CCTs can be identified, reflecting the institutional and design differences discussed above:

- Some people see the programmes as temporary; so they should be discontinued, either because all of the target population has been lifted out of (extreme) poverty, or because the programmes have failed to achieve this outcome and should be replaced by some other type of intervention.
- Others believe the programmes should be institutionalized and be made permanent:
 - (a) Programmes with a basic income component can become a targeted basic income. The challenges are how to handle exclusion error and how to close the extreme poverty gap. *Bolsa Família* in Brasil and BDH in Ecuador seem to be moving decisively in this direction. The food card (*tarjeta alimentaria*) programme in Uruguay could also be put in this category.
 - (b) Programmes that prioritize children can become transfers to families with children, either targeted or universal, and can be merged with contributory systems (formal sector) for child protection. Family Allowances (AFAM) in Uruguay and the Universal Child Allowance (AUH) in Argentina seem to be following this course.
 - (c) The family-support components can disappear owing to cost and the lack of institutionalization, or else they may become social-assistance protocols in the countries, by institutionalizing social assistance services (or health services when the target is the child). Programmes such as *Cercanías* [Proximities] in Uruguay and *Ingreso Ético Familiar* in Chile, suggest progress in this direction.

C. Main results of the impact assessment of the Family Allowances-Equity Plan

Andrea Vigorito,
Institute of Economy, Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences,
University of the Republic, Uruguay

In Uruguay, the expansion of social-assistance cash transfers occurred as the *Frente Amplio* left and centre-left coalition government took office, following the severe economic crisis of 2002, which caused poverty to double and inequality to rise sharply.

The following paragraphs describe the results of the impact assessment of the Family Allowances-Equity Plan (AFAM-PE), which is the non-contributory component of the Family Allowances programme. The work was carried out under a technical cooperation agreement with the Ministry of Social Development (MIDES) of Uruguay and was prepared jointly with Marcelo Bérigolo, Andrés Dean and Ivonne Perazzo (Bérigolo, Dean, Perazzo and Vigorito, 2014).

The AFAM-PE is the outcome of a reform to expand cash transfers. The original programme started in 1943, targeting workers who contribute to social security. Since the 1970s, its requirements have included school attendance by children, and since the 1990s it has been conditional on not exceeding a minimum income threshold. In 2004, the transfers were expanded to households that had an income of less than three times the minimum wage, irrespective of the contributory status of the person applying for the benefit. Although a significant expansion of the programme's coverage was achieved, the transfers did not have much impact on poverty or indigence because the amount of the benefit had devalued greatly, having been indexed to a falling real wage. Following a temporary plan — the National Social Emergency Care Plan (PANES) — implemented in 2005 and 2007, Family Allowances became part of the Equity Plan (AFAM-PE). One of the features of this new system is that the AFAM-PE is located in the social security bank (*Banco de Previsión Social* – BPS) and coordinated by MIDES and the BPS.

The AFAM-PE targets households with children up to 17 years of age, who live in conditions of vulnerability. The latter is defined on the basis of a twin threshold. Firstly, there is an income threshold, which is verified either by the household income declaration or by the BPS in its records of formal employment and contributions. Secondly, households that are below this per capita level pass through another threshold, namely the predictive probability score of falling into poverty, measured in terms of a set of household assets, education level, housing condition, etc. Eligibility for the programme is independent of the household's contributory status, so there are households that might choose to be in one or other of the systems. Lastly, the AFAM-PE benefit is greater than that paid to households who are covered by social security, but the latter comes with contributory social benefits, whereas AFAM-PE requires an application. The legal framework that created the programme imposes conditions in terms of health check-ups and school attendance, and the benefit per household averages 1,200 Uruguayan pesos (US\$ 65), with an increase when the children enter secondary school.

The study by Bérigolo, Dean, Perazzo and Vigorito (2014) evaluates the programme's impact on health, fertility, education, employment and income conditions, and on the attitudes and opinions of its beneficiaries. The evaluation uses a regression discontinuity design (RDD), a methodology which is suitable for evaluating programmes for which admittance is based on a score. The probability of participating in the programme is discontinuous at a certain value (score) of the Critical Needs Index (CNI). The control and treatment groups have characteristics that vary continuously, except in terms of the probability of treatment.

The authors estimated the following equation based on four specifications (linear; linear with control variables; quadratic; and quadratic with control variables):

$$y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 treatment + D(score) + \alpha X + \varepsilon$$

Where y represents the outcome variable analysed; *treatment* indicates whether the household passed through AFAM-PE; X is a vector of control variables such as education, sex, age, housing conditions, time of exposure to the programme; D is a continuous function in the neighbourhood of the cut-off point.

The information sources used were the administrative record of AFAM applicants, which suffers from the problem that some of the applicants were directly transferred from the previous plan (PANES), so the data do not correspond to the start of AFAM in 2008, but stem from 2005. Use was also made of a monitoring survey conducted in 2011-2012 in a small neighbourhood of the cut-off point; and the administrative records of secondary and technical education (SECLI-UTU) were also used to observe educational performance. The follow-up survey covered 1,000 ineligible households and 1,750 eligible ones.

The main results of the evaluation are as follows:

- A high percentage (around 90%) of children from birth to 12 years old have a child health check-up card, among both eligible and ineligible households. When the interviewees were asked whether it was possible to view the card to record certain data, a high proportion of people answered yes (81%). This result shows that the health card, which has been compulsory nationwide since 1978, is now a widely disseminated element in the population and is unlikely to affect the result. For these reasons, no effects were found in this dimension among children up to 12 years old or in children up to five.
- The households were also asked whether the children had attended health check-ups in the last year (the question explicitly excludes fevers and colds). The results show that the health check-ups are highly institutionalized in Uruguay. The percentage of children between birth and 12 years old that have undergone check-ups in the last year is around 90%, rising to 94.4% in the case of children under six. Although a priori it might be thought that the AFAM-PE programme, owing to the health check-up conditionalities, could have had a positive impact on this result, no robust effects were found.
- The nutritional status of children in the survey households is proxied by anthropometric measurements. These are taken from their health cards: height, weight and date of the first and most recent check-up, from which the body mass index (BMI) was calculated. Again, no AFAM-PE effects were found in this dimension.
- In education, no effects were found in the data obtained from the survey of children from six to 11 years of age, nor among adolescents. Nonetheless, working with a longer period and administrative records, effects of around 2% were found in secondary school attendance for children between 13 and 17 years of age.
- An analysis was also made of awareness of the programme's conditionalities, since a survey of this type had been undertaken for the PANES programme, and a large proportion of people did not know of the conditionalities. In the case of AFAM-PE they are better known. The best-known is school attendance: 38% among ineligible and 42% among eligible households.
- In terms of the beneficiaries' employment status, there is no impact on activity, employment, unemployment and hours worked; but there is a strong impact on informality, stronger than that seen in the PANES evaluations. The informalization effect is strong among women, who account for the vast majority of programme applicants.

In terms of the effect on informality, it should be noted that the BPS, which manages both contributory social protection (social security) and the Family Allowances Programme, checks eligibility through formal income every two months, and it applies a very strict income threshold. Households exceeding the threshold are suspended from the programme for six months, which is a strong incentive for the beneficiaries not to declare a rise in income and to remain in informality or partial informality. This is a serious problem in the design of the programme which had been present since PANES and acts as a major disincentive to entering formal employment.

V. Solidarity-based financing of social protection

A. A technical and political approach to a fiscal system based on social solidarity in the region

***Fernando Filgueira,
Consultant, ECLAC***

This presentation focuses on the conceptual aspects of social taxation and includes a number of diagnostic and data elements. It aims to help situate the debate and suggest alternatives for moving the region towards a universal social protection and social-investment model.

It is impossible to discuss this issue without contextualising it in the political and social changes that have recently been occurring in Latin America. The political transformations are based firstly on the triumph of electoral democracy in most of the region's countries, and secondly on what has been called the "swing to the left". In this context, it is important to consider the taxation and social architecture alternatives that are available, and which of them help to forge a distributive coalition of low- and middle-income sectors, in which these sectors feel represented both politically and in the public policies that then protect them.

In terms of the social structure, there have been several clear achievements which ECLAC has corroborated with undisputable data. The last 10 years have seen a major fall in poverty; a moderate and, in some cases, significant drop in inequalities; higher rates of employment; lower unemployment rates and improvements in job quality. This has not been homogeneous across all countries of the region, but it is the dominant pattern.

Nonetheless, structural debts remain that have not been resolved with these advances. A large proportion of the population that escapes poverty does not join the middle-class, but enters a sector of vulnerability which generally lacks insurance, savings, and assets to enable them to cope with situations arising from exogenous or life-cycle shocks. Secondly, there has been an infantilisation of poverty, a generational imbalance in welfare, a feminization of poverty, and a segmented incorporation of women into the labour market. In other words, the women least likely to enter the labour market are those with

least education or fewest resources. Part, albeit not the major part, of the reduction in inequalities in the region, resulting from a reduction in inequality in family labour income, reflects the incorporation of a second family member into the labour force — in other words women from lower-income sectors. If this could occur on a larger scale, the reduction in inequality would also be greater.

The aforementioned achievements have clear allies: economic growth; the demographic bonus; an expansionary social taxation system, which is very important in constructing new policies; a stable macroeconomic context with low inflation, which is an outcome gained from stabilisation models; and an improvement in educational achievements, both in primary school in the more backward countries, and in secondary education.

Nonetheless, these achievements are subject to a number of sustainability risks. One of them is the end of the commodities supercycle, not abrupt but already announced; also, the tapering of quantitative easing, particularly in the United States, which will mean weaker capital flows and the end of low interest rates. Another risk is the end of the demographic bonus, since many countries are completing the stage in which the ratio of the dependent population to the active population falls. Persistent low productivity and high levels of structural heterogeneity constitute another of the risks, compounded by the limits to fiscal expansion with current tax structures and productivity of the economy. In this regard, the countries have expanded their fiscal action, their revenue and expenditure, but, with the current tax structures there are clear limits to fiscal expansion on the expenditure side. Lastly, in terms of risks, inflationary pressures are building, related to a number of balance of payments problems, and high levels of educational inequality persist.

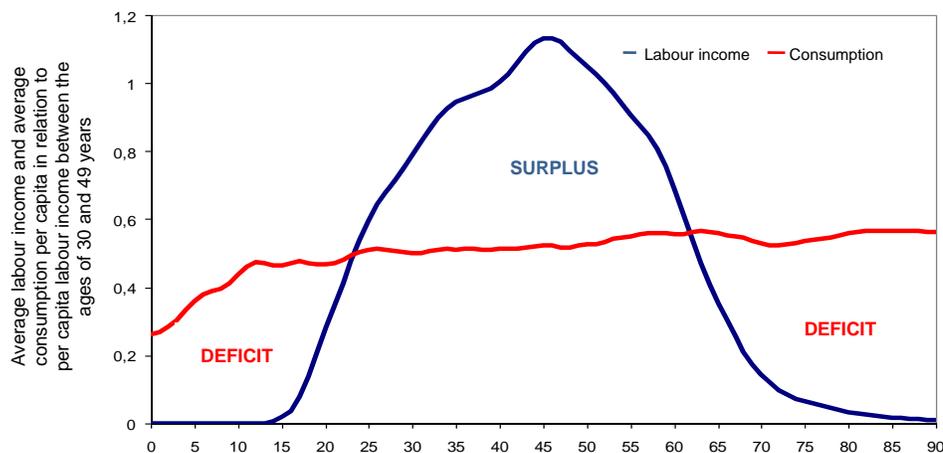
So, can the social progress being made by the region be sustained? To answer that question, structural constraints can be classified in terms of the failings in the welfare regime in the region, along with their variants and constants.

The starting point for understanding some of these failings is the life cycle and demographic factors. What figure 7 basically shows is that people generate income at different rates over the life cycle: initially nothing, then a lot, and towards the end of their life, little or even less. The intersection of the curves in figure 7 (life cycle and consumption) draws a sort of “truncated bell”, showing a surplus part. A 45 year-old consumes less income than he or she earns; and people of up to 15 years of age and over 70 generate deficits in the sense that they consume more than they earn. What societies do is redistribute, and they do this in three ways: one is through the State, extracting income from the surplus part; the other is through families themselves who use their income to care for their children and older adults; the third and last form is individual saving .

When the demographic bonus starts to fade and the ageing process begins, the dependency rate rises, led by older adults. This means that adjustments have to be made to sustain the welfare levels that society has been generating with the given productivity levels.

Actions for the future are essential when considering this challenge. One of them is that to ensure that fertility does not fall too far and is as convergent as possible; in other words, that the middle- and lower-income sectors have similar fertility rates. A second is investment in children, not only for reasons of quality, but also to raise productivity levels and the aggregate efficiency of the economy, which points to the generational balance of the fiscal effort as a third focus; and lastly, as a fourth, the basic consumption levels to be guaranteed for families with children

FIGURE 7
LIFE CYCLE AND DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS: AVERAGE LABOUR INCOME AND AVERAGE CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA IN RELATION TO PER CAPITA LABOUR INCOME BETWEEN THE AGES OF 30 AND 49 YEARS, AROUND 2000^a



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Social Panorama of Latin America, 2010.

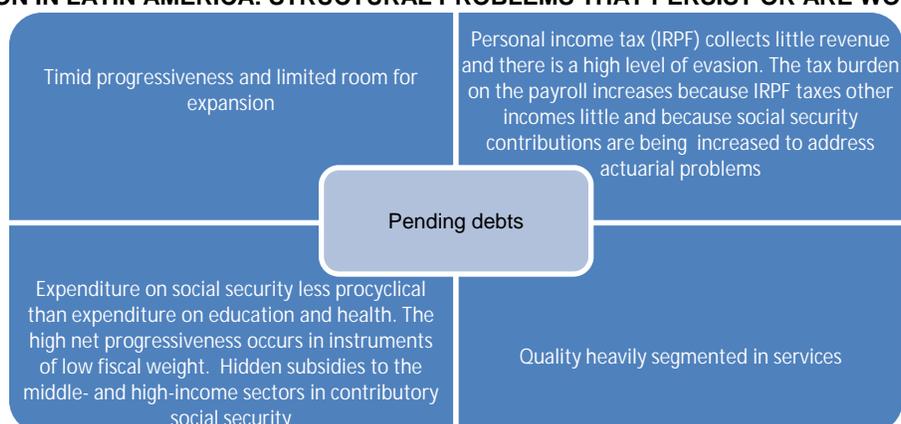
^a Simple average of the 22 countries participating in the global project on national transfer accounts. Per capita consumption includes private and public consumption. Per capita Labour income includes marginal benefits and own account income.

The Latin American welfare regime and the State's role in it suffer from a number of problems that need to be addressed to overcome the structural challenges noted above. An initial problem is public and private expenditure on children. As much as 75% of the consumption of an average child in Latin American countries comes from its own family, and 25% from what the State transfers in either cash or services. In other words, there is a suboptimal level of consumption in childhood because a large part of our children's consumption is left to the market and the original distribution of family income. When we add to this a non-convergent drop in fertility and a low labour-market participation rate by women from low-income sectors, we are faced by a situation that is economically and fiscally unsustainable through time, and a level of inequality that will be very hard to reduce further beyond recent achievements.

The virtuous configuration we would need to work towards involves high employment rates among women and older adults; very low child poverty (below general poverty rates); fertility converging around replacement rates; and intensive provision of quality public services at the community level. To achieve that, there is a need to address a situation of fragile taxation that is only weakly redistributive, and in the past has clearly suffered from the following four elements: a low and unprogressive tax burden; high evasion and avoidance; procyclical fiscal expenditure that is weakly redistributive and generationally unbalanced; and low quality of expenditure and the services it generates.

Recently, however, significant progress has been made, including an increase in the tax burden and its progressiveness and more efficient revenue collection. Expenditure has also become less procyclical, and overtly redistributive programmes have increased, although the poor quality of services persists, while health and education coverages have expanded. Nonetheless, there are structural problems that persist or are worsening in the same areas, as shown in figure 8.

FIGURE 8
TAXATION IN LATIN AMERICA: STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS THAT PERSIST OR ARE WORSENING



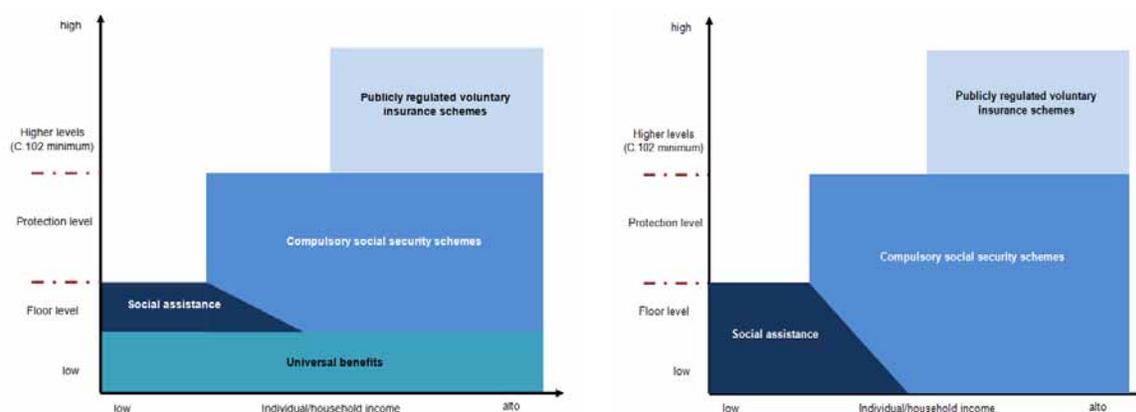
Source: Prepared by the author.

The “edifice” that Latin America has as the present time is segmented, incomplete and, in the long run, dysfunctional. This does not mean that there has been no progress; but it is characterised by an expansion of coverage and benefits that do not consistently overcome that segmentation, incompleteness and dysfunctionality:

- Mature contributory insurance systems are only mature in terms of their eligibility criteria. In their financing they are in fact mixed. Their fiscal sustainability is complex.
- Individual and market-based contributory insurance systems separate the high- and medium-high-income sectors from social protection and investment financed on a solidarity basis.
- Universal systems (especially services) are often heavily segmented in terms of quality, and also relative to access in some cases.
- The region lacks a universal childhood and family welfare package that includes leave periods, cash transfers, and early child care — in short, an embracing system that collectivizes part of the risks faced by the new cohorts.
- Targeted tools have expanded significantly in coverage, but without generally reaching non-poor vulnerable sectors in childhood, although they do mostly cover old age.

There are three possible models for moving towards universal social protection. One is the social protection floor and ladder of the International Labour Organization (ILO), which — while recognising the impossibility of attaining individual insurances through contributory systems — proposes the creation of a universal social protection floor for access to essential services and economic security. The “ladder” follows with contributory social insurance and then with voluntary insurance instruments. This model is pragmatic because it allows for different entry routes, as illustrated in figure 9.

FIGURE 9
THE PRAGMATIC VARIANTS OF THE SOCIAL PROTECTION FLOOR AND LADDER



Source: International Labour Organization, 2013, *The role of social protection floors in integrated social security systems in Latin America and the Caribbean*, Lima.

The other model, promoted by Santiago Levy from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and which is being discussed for the Mexican reform, is the efficiency-based universal worker insurance model. Levy's argument for this model is simple: "not everyone passes through the factory, but everyone passes through the shop". Accordingly, a system should be generated that is fully financed by consumption taxes rather than by payroll taxes. Levy's central concern is not rigour, equity or equality, although equality would be enhanced in Mexico with his model; but the focus is essentially on efficiency: greater efficiency in the labour market and productivity gains. This efficiency-based model gives an important role to targeted policies because it is a worker insurance system, rather than a citizenship insurance system. In this case, the insurance is obtained either through the family link or else through targeted policies.

The third universal model is basic universalism. Unlike Levy's model and the ILO model, this one insists that the crucial point is the provision of universal basic social guarantees financed out of general tax revenues. This involves addressing two potential constraints: contributory models and targeted models. The fiscal weight of these two models must be reduced and the fiscal weight of the universal basic benefits model needs to be increased (cash transfers, universal old-age pensions, basic unemployment and childhood transfers, homogeneous quality services adapted in terms of care, education and health).

Although these three models are being discussed in the region, they are ideals, and the reality is more complex. One way or another, countries are seeking to strengthen the universal component or at least strengthen accesses to universal coverage. The route that Latin America has chosen for reforming its assistance clearly requires very rapid growth rates and high rates of expansion of fiscal capacity, because the region threw its weight behind improving contributory systems and closer targeting; and it partly renounced solidarity-based financing by persisting with the private or individual capitalisation models, or individual insurance models that were created in the 1990s. Under that alternative, part of the "fiscal cake" is renounced; but, on the other hand, there is a need to improve the quality of contributory benefits and expand coverage of low-income sectors that do not attain contributory insurance. This can be done in an expansionary economic and fiscal context. It is an architecture that is less efficient in the long run, less egalitarian, and less cohesive than relying on basic universal modalities as a starting point. Nonetheless, it is true that when there is path dependency, there are no basic modalities that can be built in a vacuum, so it is necessary to start from contributory systems and design gradual transformation strategies that are consistent, stable and long-term.

What Uruguay has done with health reform and the pension and retirement system is to progressively decouple the contribution from the quality of benefits; but this is a long road. Other countries that have less developed contributory models could begin with basic or starter models, rather than setting up contributory systems and then wondering how to serve people that cannot be covered with them. In this context, the case of Norway is very clear. In 1945, inspired by Beveridge, it generated a universal basic pension. Then in the 1970s it allowed for the creation of contributory pensions. The model starts by covering everyone in basic terms and then, “above that”, it is permitted to raise tax revenue to cover the stratified risk, for example longevity or disease.

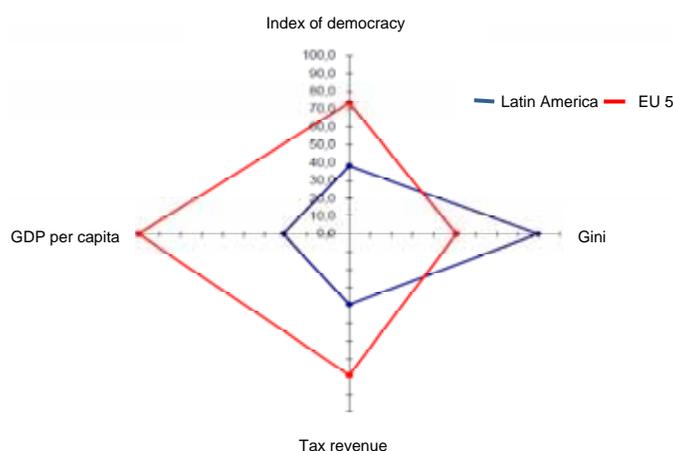
B. Problems of financing social protection in economies with high levels of informality

Javier Curcio,
Faculty of Economics Sciences,
University of Buenos Aires (FCE/UBA) and
Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento (UNGS)

When considering the financing of social protection, it needs to be remembered that Latin America is a region with major inequalities in various indicators, particularly income. That inequality has a close inverse correlation with the fiscal space, or the possibilities for the public sector to fund public policies generally, and social policies in particular.

Despite a positive trend in recent years, Latin America has less fiscal space than more developed countries that have contributory financing (obtained from the payroll), equivalent to just 3% of GDP. It also has regressive taxes based on consumption and other indirect duties. A comparison of the situation of Latin America, as a group of 19 countries, with Europe, in terms of variables such as the index of democracy, Gini coefficient, GDP per capita, and tax revenue, clearly shows Latin America in an unfavourable light (see figure 10). In the case of tax revenue, the worse relative position makes it harder to finance public policies generally and those corresponding to social services in particular.

FIGURE 10
DEVELOPMENT AND TAX BURDEN IN LATIN AMERICA AND EUROPE



Source: Cetrángolo and Goldschmit (2011): Descentralización, cohesión social y afianzamiento de la democracia; workshop “La política fiscal para el afianzamiento de las democracias en América Latina, ECLAC-UNDP, Santiago, Chile, 27 and 28 April 2010.

This phenomenon can also be seen by relating the tax burden to GDP. Among Latin American countries and those of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), there is a direct correlation between per capita GDP and tax revenue. Latin American countries have worse levels of income generation and, consequently, less associated tax pressure. The good news—or the half-full glass—is that since the 1990s the region has grown its tax revenues (by 38% between 1990 and 2011) hand in hand with the growth of per capita income. This growth process can also be seen by comparing tax revenues with other incomes. There are several countries which, in the logic of expanding fiscal space, have succeeded incorporating income from other sources, basically related to the extraction of natural resources (mining, oil, for example). The counterpart of that expansion is firstly, that dependence on these resources is associated with a high level of volatility in international prices and, secondly, difficulties in terms of sustainability, since the vast majority of those non-fiscal incomes are related to nonrenewable resources that have a depletion period.

Completing the overview from the financing standpoint, it can be said that the main increase in Latin American taxation over the last few years relates to general taxes on goods and services, followed by indirect taxes (consumption taxes) and taxes on income and capital gains. Taxes on social security, which are more directly related to contributory policies, held their own in the growth process, but did not increase their share relative to the other components. Considering the breakdown of the increase in income taxes, in an annual series running from 1998 to 2011, growth ranges from 3.5 to almost 5 percentage points of GDP and mostly stems from higher corporate taxation (taxation of the earnings of large firms involved in mining and oil extraction).

From the resource standpoint, this analysis can be related to the mode of identifying or classifying the contributory policies that were historically linked to the labour market. Here, the aim is to return to the five-component classification of social security accounts (Cetrángolo, 2009), which are presented here as applied to the Argentine case: (i) old-age, invalidity and death insurance: in Argentina consisting of a public pay-as-you-go system managed by the National Social Security Administration (ANSES), along with special regimes, provincial social security funds and private life insurance policies; (ii) health insurance schemes, consisting of national and provincial social works, the National Institute of Social Services for Retirees and Pensioners (INSSJyP-PAMI), and prepaid medicine firms; (iii) the family allowances system: allowances paid to workers who are heads of household employed in the formal sector, based on their family dependants; (iv) unemployment insurance; and (v) workplace hazard insurance.

These components can be analysed on the basis of four classification criteria: (i) by the type of financing, the benefits may be contributory or non-contributory, which will make it possible to establish whether or not it is an insurance; (ii) according to the obligation status of affiliation, which may or may not be obligatory and, consequently, determines whether the public intervention reflects the decision to consider the benefit in question as a merit good; (iii) the providing institution (governmental or non-governmental), indicating whether it is a component of public expenditure; (iv) the allocation of benefits, whether or not it is a redistributive benefit.²

In terms of the characteristics for a new approach to social protection in the region, some discussions of the expansion of coverage with non-contributory mechanisms relate to the situation prevailing in most Latin American countries: low contributory coverage; an unfavourable employment and demographic dynamic; contributory systems complemented with non-contributory systems that suffer from financing difficulties and low coverage; a “vicious circle” dynamic between informality, low revenue collection and equity; and situations of fragmentation, in which three population groups can be recognised in the labour market (registered formal workers, informal workers and the unemployed).

An additional issue to consider is how functions relating to the policies in question are distributed across the territory. In general, Latin American countries developed a wide-ranging process of fiscal

² Combining these four variables around the different benefits, a matrix was constructed to analyse which contributory policies are obligatory and which are not, and within that, which are managed by the public sector and which by the private sector; and, also, the degree to which the benefits principle is fulfilled. The eight cells of the matrix can be complemented with eight similar cells on the non-contributory components; and, to some extent, the evolution shows a tendency to complement the historical contributory approach on social security with other non-contributory benefits that are “universalizing” or aim to fill gaps.

decentralisation centred on expenditure, but this was not accompanied by decentralisation of revenues. This raises the need to generate transfer mechanisms, the search for full fiscal correspondence, which is problematic from many points of view (the main one is the existence of economies of scale in tax revenue). There are other mechanisms for seeking solutions: intergovernmental financial transfers and more incipient solutions that relate to sectoral organisation related to financing in each case.

As a final thought on the problems of financing social protection in economies with high levels of informality, it should be noted that the region is unequal and heterogeneous, with public policies that have little capacity to resolve distribution problems (unemployment, informality, low levels of social protection and scarcity of resources). There is a problem of labour-market and demographic dynamics, which poses increasing difficulties for traditional contributory systems. There is a need to conceptualise a new approach to social protection that combines contributory and non-contributory financing to cover the corresponding outlays. Particular solutions need to be designed that take account of the heterogeneous conditions of each country and sector, and also make it possible to develop prolonged, flexible and complex transition processes.

C. Solidarity-based financing of social protection

**Ernesto Murro,
Chairman of the Board of Directors,
Banco de Previsión Social**

Banco de Previsión Social (BPS) is what in other countries is known as a social-security institution, social-security administration, or “*caja*”. It plays an important role not only in traditional social security benefits, but also as a revenue-collection mechanism for both the public and the private sector. The BPS is the main collector of income tax from workers and retirees (95%); it also affiliates people, collects and pays the comprehensive service providers that make up the national health system, and they collaborate in other aspects, such as application and payment of the PANES bond.³ This is what distinguishes the BPS from the solutions and modes of implementation used in other countries which tend to use other organisations to manage health systems or poverty reduction plans.

The financing of social security cannot be analysed on an isolated basis, but must be done as part of the new conception of social policy interrelated with economic policy, which has been established by the Uruguayan government since 2005. Its main characteristics include: (i) its obligatory nature; in other words, national regimes are created tending not only towards universality but also to compulsion. Social security has been compulsory since 1954 and is tending to add obligatory features with a rights perspective; (ii) the gradualness of the reforms, which produce mixed regimes with a strong role for the State; (iii) the interrelation between public policies in an integrating model; (iv) the centrality of the management of public policies; (v) social participation; and (vi) financial sustainability. For example, the health system is accessed through social security; it is a mixed system with State involvement in its regulation and management, and as the integrated provider of health services, with tripartite contributory financing and by general taxes.

The current government has shown special concern for extending social protection with increasingly solidarity-based financing in a country that already had high coverage indicators. In Uruguay today, which has a stable population, there have never been so many people working, or so many people registered in social security; there have never been so many beneficiaries of social security (96% of the over 65s with a pension), and the benefits paid are at their best-ever level in terms of purchasing power. This is fundamentally due to the pursuit of greater employment, and quality employment articulated with other public and social policies.

Social security has registered substantial 59% growth in the number of contributors in eight years, in other words an additional 540,000 contributors, thereby reaching 1.5 million in a total population of

³ PANES, the National Social Emergency Response Plan, was implemented in Uruguay between 2005 and 2007.

the country of 3.3 million. The average wage for contributions to social security has grown by 47%, outpacing the strong growth of the real wage. The wage bill on which quotations are based has grown 134% in real terms over the last eight years. This means that the real wage has improved, along with the wage for contributing to social security, and hence there has been a substantial improvement in the system's financing. For example, the amount of financial assistance needed to fund retirement and other pensions, fell almost from 11% to 0.3% as a percentage of the wage bill, by 22% to below 1% in terms of income, and by 4 percentage points of GDP to nearly 0% of GDP in the period 2004-2012.

All of this has been supported by the aforementioned principle of inter-relating policies. Uruguay is one of the few countries in the world where collective wage bargaining has been mandatory for all sectors of activity since 2005.

The Integrated National Health System (SNIS) which began in 2008, fulfils the principle of "from each according to his or her income, to each according to his or her needs", and formalizes the system. The entry of children to the health system has a very favourable effect on the formalisation of social security; some 100,000 workers at least were attracted into the social-security system by their children. This is another example of the interrelation of public policies.

All of this is occurring in the context of a number of specific features prevailing in the country. Like Argentina and Brazil, Uruguay is a country with a high tax burden, and personal contributions from workers (retirement and health) are among the highest in the world, and the highest in the country's history (21%). Employer contributions are large in comparison with other Latin American countries, but among the lowest in Uruguay's history (retirement plus health 12.5%) the lowest in MERCOSUR and emerging economies (BRICS), where they reach up to 20% (retirement only). The specific feature is that while there is no union platform calling for lower personal contributions, there are public calls from the employer sector for their contributions to be reduced.

As part of the tax reform, the move towards solidarity-based financing has been gaining strength. An analysis of social-security income shows that 75% is for the public sector and 25% goes to the individual capitalisation regime, which is consistent with the mix of the retirement pension system (70% of the pension or retirement benefit will be paid through the public regime and roughly 30% through the capitalisation scheme).

The system has been made more progressive, and public-policy management has been improved. For example, considering two periods of economic growth, 1991-1998 and from 2005 to the present, the latter period has in increase in the number of contributors to social security, which currently accompanies GDP growth and outpaces employment growth, but this did not happen in 1991-1998, when it hardly existed.

VI. Measuring social protection

A. The measurement of social protection expenditure in Latin America

**Rodrigo Martínez,
Social Affairs Officer,
Social Development Division, ECLAC**

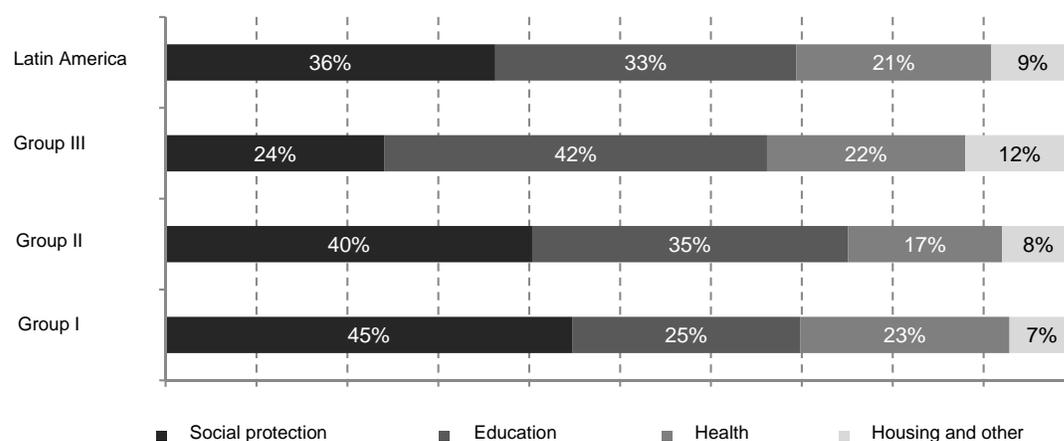
To consider the expenditure, or investment, that governments of the region make to finance their social protection policy, the following section presents the existing data and then discusses a number of measurement characteristics and challenges.

Social policy aims to curb or mitigate the consequences of social problems, overcome poverty, reduce inequity and promote social cohesion, seeking thereby to uphold rights and guarantee minimum levels of access to goods and services in different domains: economic, social and cultural. This is implemented through social management, by seeking to achieve a positive impact: social, economic and/or redistributive. The counterpart of this is the need to make social investment (social spending), which is understood as resources used to finance the plans, programmes and projects that aim to generate a positive impact on some social problem.

Since the early 1990s, social public spending has grown significantly in all of the region's countries, attaining an average of 15.2% of GDP among the individual countries, or 17.9% of regional GDP. Until the middle of the past decade, social investment fluctuated with growth, whereas prior to the global crisis of 2008-2009, social spending and public expenditure became a countercyclical measure. Nonetheless, there is a lot of variation between the countries, and those with higher GDPs give greater priority to social issues.

Social policy has a major redistributive impact, doubling the income of the lowest income quintile, but representing just 10% for the highest quintile. Nonetheless, the volume of social public expenditure targeting the higher income groups, through social security, is greater. More than one third of social spending is destined for social protection, which is more important in the higher-income countries, unlike what happens with education (see figure 11).

FIGURE 11
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (18 COUNTRIES): COMPOSITION OF PUBLIC SOCIAL SPENDING BY FUNCTION IN GROUPS OF COUNTRIES, SIMPLE AVERAGES, AROUND 2009^a



Source: Economic Commission for Latin American and Caribbean (ECLAC), Social Expenditure Database, based on official data from the countries [online] <http://dds.cepal.org/gasto/indicadores/>.

^a Countries grouped by level of social investment, from the highest (Group I) to the lowest (Group II).

Regionwide, 14 million Latin Americans of 65 years of age and older receive a social pension, but few countries assign large amounts of resources for this purpose. The weighted average represents just 0.44% of GDP, with the Plurinational State of Bolivia being the highest at 1.58%. In the case of CCTs, these cover a fifth of Latin American and Caribbean people. The volume of resources is again very small, only in Ecuador does it exceed 1% of GDP. Nonetheless, CCTs cover on average 30% of the aggregate annual deficit in the resources of the indigent population relative to the indigence threshold. Thus, little can be expected in terms of impact on incomes; whereas in high human-development countries, this proportion reaches 120.7%, it is only 12.9% among countries of medium human development (Cecchini and Madariaga, 2011).

The measurement of social spending or investment poses major challenges in the region in terms of quality and coverage, including the following:

- Social spending is measured with different coverages between countries. Most consider the central government, but there are a few that expand the coverage to encompass all government and the non-financial public sector (see table 3).
- The definition of social protection used is also not homogeneous. Definitions include social protection (in general), social security, social assistance, capacity building, welfare, housing and social development (see table 4).
- There are different ways of classifying social spending: administrative (who spends), economic (how it is spent), functional (what it is spent for).
- In social protection, the classifications contained in the Government Finance Statistics Manual (economic) and the COFOG4 (functional) are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive. For that reason, ECLAC has proposed a social spending measurement that takes account of the following dimensions: function, social sector, recipients, type of products, financing source, executing agency, destination, cost category and target of impact. An important feature of these dimensions is that it is not only the State that participates in financing social spending,

⁴ Classification of the Functions of Government.

but also the private sector, either through co-payments for services or by contributions to the financing of supply made through foundations and corporations. Considering these dimensions would make it possible to improve measurement coverage and accuracy.

TABLE 3
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (21 COUNTRIES): COVERAGE OF SOCIAL SPENDING

Country	Budgetary central government	Central government	General government	Federal government	Non-financial public sector	Consolidated
Argentina		X	X		X	
Bolivia (Plur. St. of)		X ^a				
Brazil				X	X	X
Chile		X				
Colombia					X	
Costa Rica						
Cuba			X			
Dominican Republic		X				
Ecuador		X				
El Salvador		X				
Guatemala		X				
Honduras		X				
Jamaica		X				
Mexico	X					
Nicaragua	X					
Panama		X			X ^a	
Paraguay	X					
Peru	X ^a					
Trinidad and Tobago		X				
Uruguay		X	X ^a		X ^a	
Venezuela (Bol. Rep. of)		X ^b				

Source: Prepared by the author on the basis of Economic Commission for Latin American and Caribbean (ECLAC), Social Expenditure Database, based on official data from the countries [online] <http://dds.cepal.org/gasto/indicadores/>.

^a Discontinued.

^b Agreed and paid.

The main constraints on the measurement of social spending in the region are: (i) social spending is understood more as an accounting activity than in terms of social management; (ii) expenditures are not associated with the objectives of social policies; (iii) non-public social spending is not measured (private, NGO, etc.); (iv) measurement coverage is heterogeneous, which makes comparisons difficult; (v) the breakdown of the information is limited and the functional classification is not homogeneous across countries; (vi) there is a bad breakdown between social security and social assistance, and between contributory and non-contributory programmes; (vii) the categories used are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive; (viii) there is little integration between social spending and the system of national accounts (SNA); and (ix) there is a significant backlog in terms of data availability.

TABLE 4
LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN (21 COUNTRIES): DIMENSIONS CONTAINED IN THE
ACCOUNTING OF SOCIAL PROTECTION EXPENDITURE

Country	Social protection	Social security	Social assistance	Labour	Capacity building	Welfare	Housing	Social development
Argentina		X	X	X				
Bolivia (Plur. St. of)	X							
Brazil	X	X	X	X	X			
Chile	X							
Colombia		X		X				
Costa Rica	X							
Cuba		X	X					
Dominican Republic		X	X					
Ecuador	X							
El Salvador		X	X	X				
Guatemala	X						X	
Honduras								
Jamaica	X					X		
Mexico		X						
Nicaragua								
Panama		X		X				
Paraguay								
Peru		X	X	X				
Trinidad and Tobago		X				X		
Uruguay		X	X					
Venezuela (Bol. Rep. of)		X						X

Source: Prepared by the author on the basis of Economic Commission for Latin American and Caribbean (ECLAC), Social Expenditure Database, based on official data from the countries [online] <http://dds.cepal.org/gasto/indicadores/>.

In contrast, advances made in the measurement of social spending include the following: (i) most countries make estimations of social public spending; (ii) the main information sources are government finance statistics (GFS) based on the 2001 Government Finance Statistics Manual; (iii) there is an extended transition from cash-based to accruals-based measurement; (iv), significant progress has been made in national accounts and satellite accounts; (v) many countries have a recently defined a base year; (vi) the social-programme evaluation, monitoring and record-keeping system has been established.

For that reason, nowadays it is possible to have a measurement model that is aligned with the satellite accounts that articulate operational management and accounting information, public and private expenditure, expenditure and impacts, expenditure and financing. This means progress in terms of information systems for monitoring and evaluation, with GFS and SNA to analyse expenditure, and with censuses, surveys, and programme evaluations to measure impacts.

There is a twin challenge: moving from recording expenditure to measuring investment; and from evaluating programmes to evaluating policies. Today, this is technologically and institutionally possible; what is needed is a political decision to move ahead.

B. The measurement and monitoring of social protection worldwide

**Maddalena Honorati,
World Bank**

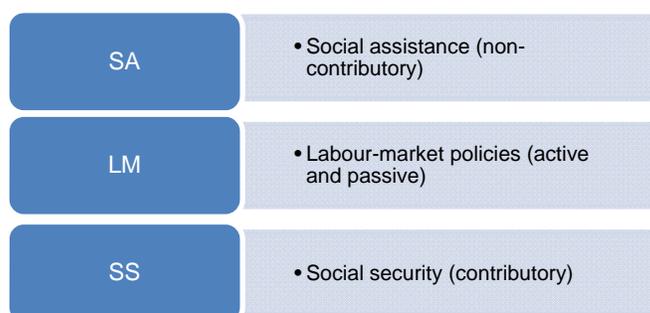
There is currently a social protection gap worldwide. While one billion people are living in situations of poverty or food insecurity, an equal number are covered by some system of social protection. Nonetheless, only half of poor people have any social protection coverage.

At the same time, there is also a global information gap on national social protection systems. Most countries do not collect data through household surveys on a timely basis; and, when they do so, they often do not contain modules on social protection, or else they contain very sparse information that fails to meet public-policy needs.

To improve the measurement of social protection, the World Bank has launched the Atlas of Social Protection - Indicators of Resilience and Equity (ASPIRE). This has the following objectives: to generate a base of social protection and labour-market indicators at the level of programme design and performance, which is standardised, up-to-date and accessible, and which optimises and capitalises on existing data-collection efforts, measuring variations both between countries and through time; (ii) to build empirical evidence on the performance of social protection systems, with particular emphasis on complementarity between programmes to address risks jointly, identifying redundancies and thus developing a common matrix to evaluate the performance of social protection systems and monitor them through time; and (iii) to help improve the quality, availability and comparability of social protection data in household surveys.

ASPIRE seeks to answer the following questions: how much do countries spend on social-protection and labour-market programmes? What is the socioeconomic context in which social protection and labour-market programmes operate in the different countries? What are the trends in terms of the number of beneficiaries covered? How do they vary by consumption quintile? What types of benefits are there? Are the benefits adequate? What percentage of the benefits are received by the lowest income quintiles? What is the impact of social protection and labour-market programmes on poverty and the reduction of inequity? For this purpose, it classifies programmes in three groups: (i) social-assistance programmes (non-contributory social protection), which include cash transfers; (ii) labour-market policies (either active or passive); and (iii) contributory social security (see figure 12).

FIGURE 12
CLASSIFICATION OF SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAMMES IN ASPIRE



Source: Prepared by the author.

For this purpose, ASPIRE compiles data from information contained nationwide household surveys — indices of the quality of life, household income and expenditure surveys Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS), welfare surveys, statistics on income and living conditions (SILC), labour-market surveys — and administrative records published or directly compiled by local teams.

ASPIRE also includes indicators of context: indicators at the country level that describe the socioeconomic context in which the social protection and labour-market programmes operate (primary activity rates, employment indicators, structure of employment by sector); indicators on the design of programmes, which describe their design characteristics (benefits modality, frequency of payments, minimum and maximum benefit levels, financing, etc.); and on the performance of the programmes (indicators showing the level of coverage of poor population groups, targeting, generosity, impacts on reducing poverty and inequity, expenditure level, etc.).

Nonetheless, ASPIRE needs to address challenges in terms of the concepts it uses in the original data collection, because there are differences, for example in the reference periods or whether the reference unit used is households or individuals. There are also differences in terms of the classifications and specific definitions of each country, in the benefits and services of social protection and labour-market (SPLM) programmes, the classification of occupations, the industry classification and definitions of employment. Moreover, the level of detail in the information collected varies according to the different reporting models and types of programmes included in the surveys. There also variations in aggregate welfare indicators, depending on whether total consumption or income is used, and whether or not the aggregates are harmonised (in addition, the standardisation process may change across regions). It is also necessary to make adjustments for inflation and take account of the differentiations that need to be made according to the type of survey.

To conclude, there is a lack of standards in the classifications, concepts and definitions of social protection, which complicate data harmonisation and therefore make comparisons difficult and hamper the effort to monitor and measure the results of social protection systems. The information obtained from household surveys needs to be supplemented with administrative data, because each of these sources has its advantages. Household surveys allow for an analysis of incidence, the direct impact on the beneficiaries; and they make it possible to analyse redundancy in programmes, but do not take account of small-scale programmes. In contrast, administrative records are more regular, more reliable in some cases, but cannot always be broken down into the different dimensions.

C. Information systems for social protection: the Uruguayan case

Juan Pablo Labat,
Director of Evaluation and Monitoring, MIDES, Uruguay

This presentation describes the main advances that have been consolidated in terms of developing information systems for social protection in Uruguay. It firstly describes the work of targeting non-contributory cash-transfer policies, mainly the Uruguay Social Card (*Tarjeta Uruguay Social*), and the results that are emerging from this process. It then describes the construction and implementation of information systems for the development and monitoring of programmes that will represent a new era in social policies.

The changes that have occurred in our society in recent years make it necessary to view the welfare state differently from its traditional role, to take account of new social realities (consolidated social fragmentation) and new social demands (the rights agenda). Social protection and welfare systems should tend to “accompany” the life cycle of individuals, with a risks and intergenerational equity perspective. Alongside this, systems need to make it possible to understand and construct the “paths” of families and their members through time. Reform of the State increasingly sees information systems as important for policy decision-making. This gives cause for concern because the construction and integration of State administrative records allow for a detailed analysis of the country’s social protection and welfare systems.

Discussion of the targeting of social protection policies in Uruguay should consider the country's specific characteristics: its geographic accessibility, population size and land area, and State resources in the territory. Accordingly, the instruments, the technologies used, and their performances, are not directly comparable in cost-benefit terms with those of other countries of the region.

The implementation of the National Social Emergency Response Plan (PANES), in 2005 and 2007, involved expanding a new set of non-contributory cash transfers, for which beneficiaries were selected by verifying means of livelihood, thereby giving the household importance along with its members and characteristics. It has since developed into other more complex and integrated initiatives such as the Equity Plan and, subsequently, the Social Reform.

The experience of field work for targeting the cash transfers and complementary programmes implemented in the framework of these plans —along with the country's "neighbourhood" characteristic— gives viability to the notion of exhaustiveness that otherwise could be very difficult to grant. Assuming that commitment poses an institutional challenge that in turn generates others of an organisational, professional, academic, and even political type, for which there are few precedents to provide guidance on the possibility of the results.

Being guided by the notion of exhaustiveness means recognizing, in the institutional domain, the need to balance the technical facets of the instruments and methodologies —indicated by statistical hits and misses, where the aim is to fit a technically defined target population to a population that is actually found in practice, at least within a certain range of error— with the policy instruction to "Go and find the right people".

To guarantee the quality of the work, it is necessary to invest in transparent, auditable, traceable and easily verifiable procedures, which clearly show the results of all actions involving external agents whose criticisms validate the processes executed and the results achieved.

In short, the work of targeting cash-transfer programmes in Uruguay involved a dynamic mix of organisational efforts, applied scientific research, technological innovation and conceptual developments, which had an impact on the design of the country's social policies and, if they receive a satisfactory political evaluation, will be present for as long as broad-coverage targeted policies exist.

This process involves a number of mutually interdependent potentials: (i) from the methodological technical standpoint: striving for exhaustiveness, auditable and verifiable processes, information quality, orientation of the work based on applied research and the measurement of errors where the link between the theoretical and the empirical is tightened; (ii) from the technological standpoint: striving to achieve online work (connectivity), inter-operational systems and permanent innovation; (iii) from the public-policy standpoint: low administrative costs as a share of the budget for non-contributory cash transfers (less than 1%), transparency, the actual results themselves and those that are emerging to make it possible to prioritise and target policies on identified and localised needs.

Over the last two years, it has been possible to update information on 50% of AFAM-PE households (100,000 personal visits to households), to correct targeting errors in the Uruguay Social Card (12,000 households brought in and 47,000 households which changed their situation), and to incorporate or reincorporate over 15,000 households into the AFAM-PE. The emerging results from this work include the referral of social-risk situations, identified in the fieldwork, to different programmes and institutions, and detailed characterisation of the structure and distribution of vulnerabilities in defined micro-territories.

The targeting work was implemented through mass visits to potential beneficiary households, in which duly trained staff visit the homes and record information obtained by observation and declaration, which is then verified in various databases of different institutions —MIDES, National Civil Identification Directorate (DNIC), *Banco de Previsión Social* (BPS), Integrated Social Area Information System (SIAS)— online and with quality controls.

As the SIAS becomes connected in its full content potential, all of the information from the social area will be integrated and validated (health, housing, education, employment, social protection and security). The SIAS aims to improve levels of effectiveness and efficiency in delivering public goods and social services,

integrating information from all programmes from all organisations associated and from their beneficiaries, through the identity document. In the full development of its first version, it consolidates information on individuals from 56 programmes and social-registration systems pertaining to the sectoral organisations mentioned above. The information can be consulted in two ways: (i) through individual queries (given a record card for the benefits received); and (ii) at the aggregate or statistical level.

The SIIAS can provide information services to other organisations, which, for example, makes it possible to simplify processes of selection and the granting of social benefits to households in situations of vulnerability, by allowing for consultation as to whether a given person belongs to that set of households. This mechanism is currently used in the subsidies provided by *Obras Sanitarias del Estado* (OSE, the drinking water supplier), for the Cultural Card of the Governorship of Montevideo (IM), soon to be used in selecting users in the State Health Services Administration (ASSE) and also under consideration for other public services. All of this is occurring in the framework of current regulations on the protection of social data.

The exchange of information online through the survey of households and their links with the SIIAS will make it possible to consolidate the State's presence through a single interaction, the precise estimation (in magnitude and location) of the supply of benefits that the State needs to implement integrated policy interventions in the most vulnerable sectors; improvement in the designs, implementation, budgeting of programmes and policies; and, therefore, an improvement in the efficiency of social public spending. This would enable Uruguay to precisely budget its remaining "social debt".

This is merely one pre-requisite for improving social-intervention conditions, but it is a very significant step in relation to the previous targeted policies that were designed to address the social emergency. The new-generation policies require greater precision, both in their objectives and in their measurement.

VII. The comprehensive nature of social protection: articulation of its components and interagency coordination

A. Inclusive social protection systems: elements for discussion on comprehensiveness

***Simone Cecchini,
Social Affairs Officer,
Social Development Division, ECLAC***

The aim of this presentation is to put forward a number of general concepts on social protection and comprehensiveness. The contents are based on the book “Inclusive social protection in Latin America: a comprehensive, rights-based approach” (Cecchini and Martínez, 2011), and on a paper by Machinea and Cruces (2006) on social policy institutions, which takes a macroeconomic perspective.

Comprehensiveness is a central element of development and hence of social policy. The sustainable development framework, initially proposed in the 1987 Brundtland Report and widely debated at the United Nations, invites us to view development as more than economic, with an encompassing perspective that unites economic, social and environmental development pillars and highlights the need for a solid institutional base. For that reason, it is a useful framework to remind us that, in addition to considering how to integrate the different social-policy measures, we constantly need to keep in mind the relationship with economic policy and the environment. In addition, the human-rights approach, which is based on universally accepted values, is premised on the indivisibility and interdependence of all rights, and therefore on comprehensiveness.

The question is whether we have succeeded in moving towards comprehensiveness in social issues. Many countries have national development plans and multisectoral social development strategies; but coordination and articulation challenges remain. There is also abundant discourse on the rights approach in social policy in the countries, but there are major difficulties in putting this approach into practice.

As shown by Machinea and Cruces (2006), despite progress in the region, several weaknesses persist in terms of social-policy institutions: a lack of clear objectives, a profusion of initiatives that are given little continuity, scant articulation between public entities and low levels of efficiency; and persistent episodes of cronyism. Many of these weaknesses are related to the low priority given to social policy and the consequently low hierarchical status and fragmentation of social institutions.

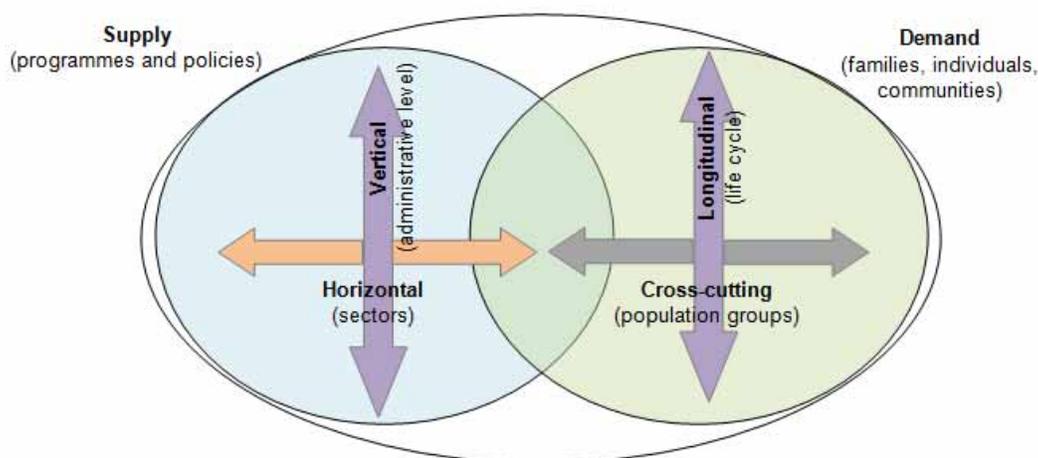
At the same time, it needs to be remembered that social policies are very demanding in terms of the institutional quality needed for them to be successful, particularly compared to macroeconomic policies. This is because social policies are redistributive, they cut across different areas, and they involve several political actors; they also require mobilisation on the ground and deal with problems that have multidimensional characteristics, such as poverty.

As noted in Cecchini and Martínez (2011), social protection is not synonymous with social policy. A social protection system forms part of social policy and needs to be articulated with other components, such as health, education and housing-sector policies, and also with those of social promotion. It is also important to identify the three main functions of social protection: (i) to protect and ensure income; (ii) to promote decent work; and (iii) to identify the barriers that obstruct access to services, strive to eliminate them and thus promote access through scholarships, transfers or other measures.

Social protection systems can be divided into three components: (i) non-contributory protection, generally known as “social assistance”; (ii) contributory social protection, known as “social security”, the instruments of which include contributory pension regimes, and health and unemployment policies; and (iii) labour-market regulation, which includes the regulation and supervision of labour standards aimed at promoting and protecting decent work.

In terms of the comprehensiveness of social protection systems, from the conceptual standpoint account needs to be taken of both the supply of programmes and policies by the State and the demand for protection from families, individuals and communities. On the supply side, comprehensiveness means articulating actions both vertically (administrative) and horizontally (between social-policy sectors). On the demand side, it means taking account of both the crosscutting dimension (demands from different population groups) and the longitudinal or life-cycle dimension (see figure 13).

FIGURE 13
AXES OF SOCIAL PROTECTION INTEGRATION



Source: Cecchini and Martínez (2011), “Inclusive social protection in Latin America: a comprehensive, rights-based approach”, ECLAC books No. 111, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Santiago, Chile.

The question that arises is: how to promote the comprehensiveness of social protection systems? Three elements are central here: firstly, the State needs to play a central role in social protection, taking account of interactions with other key sectors such as the market, families and communities. Secondly, it is necessary to adopt a rights approach in social protection (Sepúlveda, 2013), which promotes an integrated view of the demands of all citizens. Thirdly, solid information-management systems are needed, as these are developing into the real spinal cords of social protection systems in the region. Information systems include the identification and registration of beneficiaries, monitoring and evaluation of programmes and policies, and national statistics (for example, the national accounts and the public finance information system).

To promote comprehensiveness, we also need the social protection institutions to coordinate at different levels—firstly at the political level, which often corresponds to the experience of social welfare offices (for example Uruguay) or of coordination ministries (Ecuador). Nonetheless, finance ministries often become the real social authority because they prioritize funding requests. The second level is the technical level, which encompasses entities responsible for specific programmes; and the third is the operational level, which involves entities that play a role in implementing programmes locally—such as beneficiary selection and registration systems, social programme information systems, and family monitoring. How can coordination between these levels be encouraged? Although there are no easy answers, it is obvious that clear political guidelines are needed for technical workers and operatives. In addition, there are examples of budgetary incentives that have succeeded in forging partnerships between different levels and sectors of social protection.

In view of the above, we clearly need social policy institutions that are strong and solid, based on social covenants that guarantee continuity to policies and programmes, and sustained by sufficient budgetary funding to make it possible to hire high-quality technical staff. The desirable characteristics of these institutions are therefore: (i) the presence of legal regulations and defined mandates based on political consensus; (ii) effective management, transparency, monitoring and evaluation; (iii) participation and accountability; and (iv) adequate consideration of the territorial dimension, taking account of the advantages and disadvantages of decentralisation.

To conclude, inter-sectoral coordination is a basic requirement for consolidating social protection in Latin America. Nonetheless this remains a major challenge, along with others such as the availability of information systems that allow for integrated management; the implementation of the rights approach; the search for financing solutions to meet multiple demands; the heterogeneity of the population that requires differentiated solutions, but which can generate gaps between citizens and break citizenship down; and the “Christmas tree syndrome” whereby more and more requirements are hung on CCTs because they have been successful.

B. The comprehensiveness of social protection in Latin America: how to move beyond rhetoric?

*Fabián Repetto,
CIPPEC, Argentina*

The first question that arises when considering the importance of comprehensiveness in social protection is “what do we mean by comprehensiveness?” This is answered by stressing the political dimension associated with this strategic challenge of public governance. The question that arises from the political domain is how to make social protection more relevant, in terms of responding to the most important and politically prioritised problems; broader in terms of coverage and components, more comprehensive in terms of inter-sectorality and its territorial approach; and of high quality in terms of social citizenship.

We know that there is no comprehensiveness in the supply of social protection goods and services without comprehensiveness in demand. Specific agreements tend to be reached on priority problems, but not on the causal relations underlying those problems, which, although apparently sectoral, are not so in

terms of their conditioning factors (labour informality, school dropout, child mortality, etc.). The sum total of the problems does not necessarily produce an integrated view of the “social issue”.

The key is to define the causal relations that exist between the components of the social problem to be addressed; and this, while requiring technical knowledge, essentially involves a political dynamic linked to power relations between the set of persons involved around the issue in question. This obviously means rejecting naive points of view associated with a social policy that is bereft of political-ideological struggle, while the rhetorical ends tend to be quite similar, even between actors with very different interests. For example, the range of public policies differs according to whether we believe people are poor because they are “lazy” or we think that the cause of the problem stems from the type of capitalism that prevails in a given country. Much of the political, and also ideological, dispute therefore concerns defining the problems comprehensively.

To make real progress on how to address problems which are intrinsically multicausal, the political role needs to be restored in the construction of the “twin comprehensiveness” (to define the problem and to address it). The political role means logically ordering the following four key aspects: (i) the strategic definition of what problems to prioritise and what path to follow; (ii) the formal and informal institutional arrangements that are relevant to the chosen course; for example, how to change informal patterns: without a change in machismo attitudes, there can be no policy against domestic violence; (iii) and inter-sectoral programmatic supply in line with the prioritized problems and the chosen course; and (iv) management tools that respond to the characteristics of the programmatic supply. Social information systems are a great tool, but they are not “the” social policy. Sometimes the instrument becomes confused with the policy.

In terms of the specific field of social protection, as part of the broader social-policy domain, there are six dichotomies that need to be addressed by any public policy that aims to deal with that “twin comprehensiveness”:

1. Centralized – decentralized.
2. Sectoral – intersectoral.
3. Universal – targeted.
4. Conditional – non-conditional.
5. Contributory–non-contributory.
6. Temporary – permanent.

Latin America has been pursuing comprehensiveness in its social protection for many years, and during that time it is learned a number of lessons, of which twelve are outlined here:

1. Coordination as a means, comprehensiveness as an end. The temptation to coordinate everything always should be resisted. Coordination is costly in many ways, so one should only attempt to coordinate when this is needed to achieve comprehensiveness in relation to problems that cannot be resolved with sector know-how, and which involve interdependency between the government areas and levels involved.

2. The difficult conjunction of the technical and the political. It is very important to give coordination mechanisms and spaces a suitable combination of technical soundness and political authority, because one without the other remains confined to simple “necessary conditions”, but not “sufficient conditions”. Political will is not achieved without technical arguments, and the sitting president cannot always be expected to resolve intersectoral conflicts.

3. Solid tools of public governance are needed of a general nature. Achieving effective coordination requires at least the following instruments: (a) intersectoral planning; (b) budgets with specific intersectoral items; (c) integrated social information systems; and (d) monitoring and evaluation systems oriented towards policies and systems, rather than just programmes.

4. The fundamental role of objectives and targets. It is crucial to have clear objectives and precise targets giving a sustainable direction to coordination efforts, based on political consensus, and well communicated in the operational domain. This means ranking priorities in terms of objectives and targets, precisely defining who does what, and making it possible to envisage specific results in a politically acceptable timeframe.

5. Scope of the coordination: not too much and not too little. Latin America has experienced a major failure with social welfare cabinets (*gabinetes sociales*) that attempted to coordinate social policy as a whole (including social security and universal services). In contrast, there have been successes in coordinating CCTs. The current challenge is how to strengthen medium-scope coordination, centred on critical issues (for example early childhood) or on social protection that does not cover everything.

6. The importance of feasibility, the danger of “pre-packaged” institutional designs. It is essential for each country to set up a scheme for coordinating its social policy, the scope of which is consistent with the fiscal, political-institutional and technical-organisational conditions (and constraints) that pertain to that national reality.

7. Coordinate one system or implement many programmes? It is crucial to have institutional designs and institutional capacities that make it possible to combine both functions successfully. These are different areas that require a clear division of tasks between sectors and government levels.

8. The critical role of the budgetary authority. Coordinating comprehensive social protection with a rights approach requires the backing of the entity that administers the budget, since its commitment is a very important political element for promoting collective action among sectoral agencies that have conflicting interests and specific responsibilities. The will of these authorities is the key to achieving budgets that facilitate comprehensiveness, both in intersectoral and in multi-year terms.

9. The “governance function” of social policy. It is becoming clear that comprehensiveness in interventions is not achieved by coordination, and ultimately there needs to be a governing body. In other words, a specific actor must have the last word in the event of gridlock caused by conflicting positions or a vaguely defined responsibilities across sectors and/or government levels. Are ministries of social development or their equivalents in a position to play that role? To what extent have the social welfare offices achieved this?

10. The importance of common purpose between influential actors. Actors with potent power resources (in the State, civil society and market, the international community) need to forge basic agreements on the principles, advantages and feasibility conditions of the specific course for the social protection being proposed here (more universal and integrated) adapting the strategies and critical paths to each national context.

11. The need for a pro-comprehensiveness social inter-institutionality. How can we design sufficient incentives for actors, who are a priori egotistical, to feel motivated to cooperate? There are generally few incentives for cooperation by the political authorities and officials responsible for implementing integrated actions. This implies the need to build suitable institutional frameworks (both formal and informal) that generate the minimum conditions for any “egotistical actors” to have incentives to coordinate with strategic resources such as information, organisation, budget and authority.

12. The importance of human resources. In Latin America there are clear examples of public officials that have a good sector understanding but little intersectoral know-how. The spaces and domains intended to generate coordination require highly sophisticated and innovative technical staff, because the challenges of comprehensiveness mean moving from specialised know-how to a know-how which, without losing the expertise of each sector, needs to add more crosscutting knowledge and management tools that are not specific to one discipline or sector in particular.

In short, achieving “twin comprehensiveness” for Latin American social protection is highly complex, quite apart from the various historical and present paths of the countries that make up the region. Learning from comparative experience is a fundamental condition for avoiding potential errors in strategic calculation, in a public-policy field where the errors affect the welfare of millions of people.

C. Interagency programmes: *Jóvenes en Red* and *Cercanías*

Mariana Drago,
Director of Inter-Departmental Coordination, MIDES,
Uruguay

This presentation defines the objectives, dimensions of approach and interagency design of the “priority programmes” *Jóvenes en Red* [Networked Youth] and *Cercanías* [Proximities]. Both programmes stem from major diagnostic studies revealing the need for new strategies to reach specific population groups, because universal-type mechanisms and/or programmes fail to provide suitable responses and often do not make contact with the problems in question.

The Ministry of Social Development was only created during the past administration (2005-2010); and its mission includes coordinating the social policies being executed by different sectors. Given the country’s socioeconomic situation, actions were initially targeted on the 120,000 households living in extreme poverty, through the National Social Emergency Response Plan (PANES) to be implemented in the period 2005-2007. From 2007 until 2011, progress was made in constructing the Equity Plan and laying foundations for the Social Reform approved in the second half of 2011. Within this framework, various strategies have been developed to progress towards the objectives of social inclusion and integration. In January 2012, the Council of Ministers reviewed the poverty reduction process (the poverty rate had fallen from 39.4% to 13.7%) and the hardening of its manifestations and the characterisation of the phenomenon (territorially focused and concentrated among children and adolescents in one-parent households).

That analysis led to the consolidation, prioritisation, and allocation of new financing to programmes that were either being designed (*Jóvenes en Red*, targeting adolescents and young people) or being expanded (*Cercanías*, an integrated and family based programme, and *Uruguay Crece Contigo*, targeting early childhood). The three programmes serve populations in their community and locality, which is where most of the dimensions of exclusion are believed to have their roots. The priorities defined in the Council of Ministers were assumed by the Social Welfare Cabinet, which was commissioned to provide the necessary follow-up. These were approaches that were coordinated and articulated at their origins, which developed and defined their priorities on the basis of the pillars of the social reform, namely: (i) families living in situations of indigence or vulnerable to it (roughly 5% of households), for whom the main objective of the social reform is their social inclusion; (ii) families living in poverty or vulnerable to it (20% of households), for whom the social reform seeks their social integration; (iii) the remaining universe of Uruguayan families in which the reform pursues the objective of social equality.

- Actions targeting adolescents and young people: *Jóvenes en Red*.

Access to, and permanence in both the education system and the labour market are central for ensuring fulfilment of the social rights of all citizens and for overcoming poverty and social exclusion. In 2011, in absolute terms, the number of young people who were neither studying nor working was roughly 120,823 (131,000 in 2010), representing 16.4% of all young people (17.8% in 2010). In 2011, 5.4% of Uruguayan youth (5.5% in 2010) were neither studying nor working, but spent their time on household tasks; while 6.1% (5.2% in 2010) were not studying or working, but looking for work. Roughly 45,000 young people (6.3%) were neither studying, nor working, nor seeking employment, nor undertaking domestic chores.

The objectives of the *Jóvenes en Red* programme therefore aim to promote the exercise of the rights of young people and adolescents between 14 and 24 years of age, who are not in the education system or in formal paid employment, using an integrated, territorial and community-based approach. To that end, actions are undertaken with a view to improving personal conditions (documentation, health and hygiene, and the treatment of addictions), to access the benefits of the public-assistance network; strengthening personal and social conditions for developing their personal project; developing skills for autonomous

social participation; accessing basic knowledge for the development of educational paths; and reaffirming and developing strategies in conjunction with young people for achieving their personal projects.

- Strategies with a family approach: *Cercanías*.

To implement a model with an integrated family approach, the State needs to reformulate the production of public goods, taking families (recognizing family models) as the target of intervention. There also needs to be a crosscutting form of management that plays a coordinating role and helps to ensure that the appropriate package of benefits actually reaches the selected families, including work with the technical workers and field teams that act as single interlocutor between families and the State.

The strategy arises in the framework of the National Social Policies Council, an adviser to the Social Cabinet, in the Equity Plan Monitoring Commission (first intervention strategy in the social emergency), particularly in the Family Affairs Subcommittee, created in October 2010. It operates as a political-technical framework for the consultancy “Bases for designing an integrated intervention strategy with families in situations of vulnerability” undertaken by José E. Fernández. This systemises and articulates reflections on a family intervention strategy from the different institutions, alongside the evaluation of the components of the assistance network, basically cash transfers, and the definition of prerequisites for creating a national care system. Lastly, it is assumed as a conceptual and methodological base for development of the *Cercanías* programme.

The programme’s objectives are centred on helping to overcome situations of extreme vulnerability among the participating families. This means working to strengthen social protection networks, providing a more fluid articulation between the families and the public supply of services, and finding ways to promote a critical review of existing models for supplying public support, from a rights perspective that puts the family centre-stage. This is supported by bio-psycho-social monitoring.

Lastly, there are several challenges involved in achieving efficient and effective interagency functioning: (i) generate and consolidate social supply with the forward-looking planning of sector resources to ensure the benefits are sustainable; (ii) design exit plans and the framework for integrating graduates from the social programme; (iii) promote communication, articulation and vertical and horizontal coordination to guarantee fluidity between the different institutional levels (political, technical and operational), and thus generate the necessary efficiency between command chains and the available technical resources, together with effective local articulations that are consistent with the political-programmatic strategy; (iv) develop the institutional framework both conceptually and methodologically as a social intervention model; systemise experiences, and their difficulties and strengths, to guarantee the memory of public governance, thereby empowering more effective future forms of governance; and (v) strengthen and consolidate the social protection network.

In short, the articulation and efficiency of policies of interagency design and execution, with the necessary endowment of human, technical and economic resources, require robust political accord and social consensus. On this basis, benefits and networks are consolidated that could be mutually involved in a care system that combines targeted strategies with universal-type benefits.

VIII. Social protection and the rights approach in Latin America and the Caribbean

A. The rights approach in social protection in Latin America

Magdalena Sepúlveda, Special United Nations Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights

Most social programmes in Latin America are currently based on a rights-approach rhetoric. Nonetheless, to make the rights approach operational in practice, there remains much to learn and many important issues to be developed.

Firstly, these programmes are based on a legal-regulatory framework that fulfills the constitutional arrangements of the countries of the region, in which a wide range of economic, social and cultural rights (ESCRs) are protected. Several constitutions establish the right to social security, understood in its contributory and non-contributory forms (the right to social assistance). These constitutionally enshrined rights and guarantees are also established in the international human rights treaties ratified by the countries of the region, such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, or the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

International rights treaties such as these form part of a national legal framework, and in many cases take hierarchical precedence over constitutional law. But it is not only the ESCRs that determine the basis of the rights approach to social policies, and social protection in particular; but also a series of other legal provisions contained in the Constitution, such as those relating to decentralisation or the protection of vulnerable groups (indigenous populations, older adults, children) which mean that social policies and programmes must comply with this rights approach as an obligation in terms of behaviour and outcome. This means that the results of a social protection programme must tend to enhance the benefit of ESCRs for the population. Nonetheless, the process of implementing and designing the programmes has to fulfil the norms and standards of human rights (such as principles of participation, transparency, access to information, etc.).

With regard to what constitutes a rights approach and its applications in social policies, six basic elements can be identified:

- (i) An adequate legal and institutional framework. A rights approach requires a social programme to be established by law, thereby guaranteeing protection to the population. In other words, the programme does not suffer political manipulations or fluctuations. This framework implies transparency and objectivity in the eligibility criteria, and in the functions and responsibilities of all actors (the beneficiaries should be seen as rights holders and demand accountability from those responsible). The legal framework is also necessary to articulate financial and sustainability needs and provide grievance and complaint mechanisms.
- (ii) An integrated, consistent and coordinated strategy. All rights are mutually related, so a consistent and global strategy is required in which no single programme fulfills all objectives. Steps should also be taken to eliminate fragmentation and duplication that affect coverage and violate people's rights. Responsibility also needs to be assigned to guarantee the rights.
- (iii) Principles of equality and non-discrimination. These, from a human rights approach, represent not only the search for formal equality, but first and foremost, material and substantive equality. They require affirmative measures to be adopted to compensate for the structural inequalities that exist. For example, in the case of women, the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, is more than just a set of formal laws declaring equal treatment between men and women; it is clear in the interpretation of the Convention that certain affirmative measures must be adopted to achieve equal treatment for women.

How do the principles of equality and non-discrimination impact on the design of social protection policies? The first point concerns the universal nature of rights and whether or not this is in conflict with targeting. Here it has to be said that although rights are universal, the ESCRs, such as the right to social assistance, should be implemented progressively, with a tendency to universality. Coverage should thus be expanded progressively according to the resources available to the State. The universal nature of a social protection programme is more aligned with a rights approach, because it reduces corruption and cronyism, does not stigmatize the beneficiaries, and would avoid exclusion errors. When, owing to resource constraints, programmes are targeted but with the aim of universalisation, certain requirements also need to be fulfilled. For example, the eligibility criteria of targeted programmes need to be reasonable and objective, and there needs to be clear information about the programme's objectives. Excessively complex targeting mechanisms, with little information available to the population, undermine the rights approach by making it harder to gain access to the programme's benefits.

Gender equality —along with equality for the disabled and for children— is where there are strongest indications of the non-discrimination principle operating. Programmes with a human rights approach seek to change unequal power relations; so they aim to be transformative. From a rights approach, for example, CCTs increase the unpaid care work done by women and thus tend to perpetuate the stereotype of women as care-providers. Instead, they ought to help break down the stereotype, through a better distribution of tasks not only between men and women, but also between high- and low-income families. The gender issue also needs to be viewed comprehensively. No social protection on its own will fully overcome the gender-inequality problem.

Standards of accessibility, adaptability and alignment are an appropriate lens for observing how social protection programmes are operating in their various stages. For example, are the beneficiary payment and selection mechanisms accessible to the most vulnerable population groups? Are there any administrative obstacles? Are programme access forms provided for people who are illiterate, in the indigenous language, or are there complaint-system mechanisms such as toll-free phone numbers? If the programme's objective is to reach the most vulnerable groups, is it using the most appropriate channels? Answering these questions will make it possible to judge whether the social protection programmes fulfil human rights, for example whether medical services are adapted to indigenous women.

6. (i) Participation is also very important, and is one of the basic human rights principles that social protection programmes need to fulfil. Many programmes have advanced participation systems, particularly CCTs; but it is a principle that should be fulfilled with many other social programmes.
7. (ii) Another basic element is transparency and access to information, through flexible, accessible and inclusive channels. Transparency and access to information make it possible to avoid abuse, mismanagement and political manipulation. All of the essential components of social protection programmes need to be respected, such as targeting mechanisms, eligibility criteria, the benefits, complaint and grievance mechanisms, and impact evaluations and studies.
8. (iii) A last standard is accountability: mechanisms are needed that have the capacity to process and analyse complaints and grievances and are inclusive and adapted to the needs of different cultural groups.

There is therefore a need to move from rhetoric to practice, which does not happen solely on the basis of fulfilling human rights obligations. The region is living through a historical period in which the rights approach can be used to sustain political agreements that determine the levels of social protection considered acceptable by society. The rights approach could thus help to implement broader social protection policies, with resources for the programmes in question. In fact, in many cases the amount of funding for individual programmes is still very low.

B. Social protection and childhood rights

Nieves Rico,
Social Affairs Officer,
Social Development Division, ECLAC

Social protection has been gaining increasing importance in Latin American debate, both in academic output and in public-policy discussions; and that makes it relevant to analyse social protection from the perspective of children and adolescents, by recognising their specific needs. This presentation summarises some of the aspects considered crucial for moving towards a conceptual framework of social protection for children and adolescents and towards integrated social protection policies with a rights approach.

- The Convention on the Rights of the Child as a policy framework

When considering social protection for children and adolescents, it is important to take account of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) approved in 1989 and ratified by all countries of the region, along with its implications for a paradigm shift in public policies, particularly social policies, regarding the way children and adolescents and their rights are conceived. The ratification of human rights instruments for the countries of the region, and in particular the CRC, as a regulatory framework, has both legal and institutional consequences. They are instruments that are legally binding on States Parties, and also affect the assumptions underlying public-policy formulation, and also their objectives and practical instruments for guaranteeing the exercise of the basic social and economic rights of children and ensuring their welfare.⁵

The CRC poses a challenge and a commitment⁶ to put forward social policies that produce a transition from conceiving children as “minors”, “parts or fragments” of an incomplete humanity, to a systemic whole, citizens, subjects of law, which makes child care a subject of debate. At the same time, it means ceasing to see them as objects of guardianship, control, and welfare assistance, or subjects of policies when they are found in an irregular situation (in the street, working, breaking the law, or committing a misdemeanour) to consider

⁵ In the CRC, States undertake to guarantee children the protection and care needed for their welfare (Article 3.2).

⁶ This follows the argument set out in Rico (2013).

each and every one of them as rights holders. The State must also be seen as guarantor of the full exercise of those rights, expanding and integrating so-called special protection with an integrated protection of the rights of children, in which social protection is just one element.

This also means moving from viewing children and adolescents as passive objects of programmes and policies to subjects with a voice and their own capacities; not the property of others, whether the State, parents, or guardians.⁷ This makes policy formulation even more complex because, although there are often good intentions, children are excluded from the designs, they are not consulted about their expectations, or where their needs are concentrated; still less are programmes built with them and together with their demands. This situation is worrying because, from a rights approach, one might think that the limited legal capacity of the child population would mean that the enforceability or judicialisation of the failure to exercise certain rights should always be mediated by their fathers, mothers or guardians, and public or private organisations and institutions. Accordingly, one way of ensuring and constructing enforceability is through the exercise of voice, participation, and decision by children in matters that concern them.

The orientations inferred from the CRC also involve moving from actions targeted on certain special groups, or on children whose families have certain characteristics (poor, single parent, headed by the woman, among others) to the progressive and universal realisation of rights. Considering all children, without distinction or discrimination, as subjects of law, also means that the programmes affecting them should not be restricted to certain biased perspectives, but need to form part of the progressive development of ESCRs.

Similarly, academic studies need to stop treating children as a mere demographic variable, to make them subjects of analysis requiring interpretative frameworks that are relevant to them. This also means considering that childhood is not a moment whose only value consists of preparing, or waiting, to be an adult. Childhood and adolescence are valid moments and life scenarios in themselves, they are present and their rights need to be exercised and protected today.

One of the consequences of this paradigm shift, as briefly outlined above, is to overcome economic-based views that often hold sway in decisions concerning programmes for children, where the investment is justified by future rates of return; or else the costs of projects are evaluated in relation to those returns, while ignoring the fact that public investment and social spending are also mechanisms for guaranteeing rights. Along the same lines, at least two questions can be asked: what level of resources are available today in the countries to uphold the rights of children and adolescents? And who decides and how is the social protection of childhood prioritised?

- Social protection for childhood

It is common to hear claims that it is unnecessary or redundant to make a special case of social protection for childhood, since the diagnostics, analysis and public policies cover and encompass this population group when an age breakdown is made of what is traditionally considered social protection, understood as encompassing all members of society through their households.

These more traditional and adult-centred perspectives on social protection and social security have given way to those that identify children and adolescents as subjects who, in addition to sharing common elements with the rest of the population, are susceptible to contingencies, risk situations and vulnerabilities that make it necessary to consider specific social protection and, above all, for the State to be actively present and serve as a pillar guaranteeing their rights.⁸

Throughout the life cycle of children and adolescents, a number of critical situations can arise, along with risks that operate as a chain through time, accumulating and having an impact on future risks

⁷ The CRC defines children and adolescents as subjects of rights, irrespective of the fact that they depend on their families, or of the effective use they make of those rights; and this makes it necessary to respect their opinions.

⁸ This presentation is consistent with the citizen-guarantee view of social protection, as proposed by CEPAL (2006) and Cecchini and Martínez (2011).

and vulnerabilities.⁹ Although children living in poverty situations are the worst affected, irrespective of the households to which they belong, there are situations involving risks that cut across different socioeconomic sectors. But, at the same time, the progressive view reveals the need for certain specific interventions at the different moments they live through.

There is consensus on the importance of intervening as early as possible in the life cycle, to ensure rights from birth and prevent an accumulation of deficits and thus avert damage at later stages. At the start of life, what affects most children is that their mothers are not entitled to paid leave to look after them, because they are in a situation of informal employment, or they do not have paid work; and their fathers do not have paid leave either, or only a very few days, given the cultural perception and political-economic decision that men are neither important nor essential in newborn care. They may also face problems related to traditional deficiencies such as low weight or size at birth, and psycho-motor difficulties stemming from some disability. During childhood, the risks related to the unequal labour-market participation by fathers and mothers continues, now in relation to bringing them up and accompanying them with care, as well as in possibilities for enjoying the benefits of social security. Eligibility criteria linked to the labour market mean not all workers are treated equal, nor are their children¹⁰ (ECLAC, 2010).

In most countries, in early childhood there is limited coverage of preschool services and then significant rates of school dropout, backwardness, and underperformance at school, particularly at the secondary school level. About 20% of adolescents between 12 and 28 years of age do not attend an educational establishment, and more men than women drop out of the system. This means that, in this age bracket, women have more education, but when the data are broken down, the trends are reversed, and it is girl children and adolescents from indigenous groups who attend school even less than men at the regional level; in 2010, nearly 30% of them were not in school (Rico and Trucco, 2014). Moreover, when the risks and needs arising from this situation of being neither studying nor in the labour market, and surveys of the use of time are analysed for this purpose, it can be seen that many adolescents are employed in domestic service and care provision within their families, the demands of which hinder their prospects of current and future welfare (ECLAC, 2013).

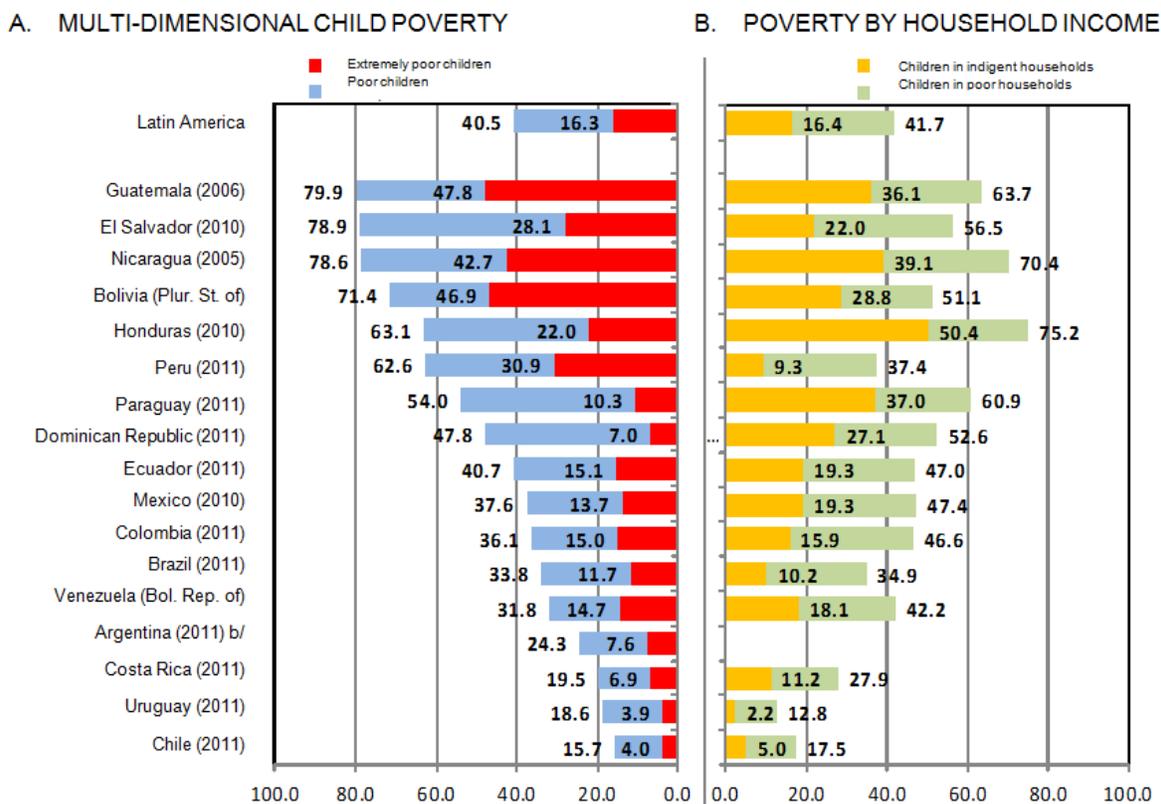
As regards the exercise of sexuality and the reproductive rights of adolescents, although Latin America is the region in the world with the largest proportion of live births to child-mothers, pregnancy is four times more common among adolescent women from low-income households. Nonetheless, these young girls who are the mothers of children are only considered on a welfare-assistance basis, and then only to a very limited extent. In the social protection debate they are an invisible player who also displays a precarious economic emancipation and higher unemployment rates. Accordingly, the lack of a gender perspective in conjunction with a childhood and adolescence focus in the programmes is one of the most important social protection debts.

The Social Panorama of Latin America 2013 (ECLAC, 2013) makes a thorough analysis of child poverty caused by multiple deprivations, from a rights approach (it considers the dimensions of education, nutrition, housing, drinking water, sanitation and information), and children that live in income-poor houses. In 2011, over 40% of the child population was poor (70.5 million children and adolescents) and one in every six was living in a situation of severe poverty, in other words subject to extreme rights violation in at least one of the dimensions considered in the index. Although the regional averages display a similar behaviour pattern for both measures, an analysis of each of the countries of the region individually shows heterogeneity that may be related to the public policies and services that have limited access and scope (see figure 14).

⁹ This follows the argument of Kaztman and Filgueira (2001), Rossel (2012) and Staab (2012).

¹⁰ Articles 26 and 27 of the CRC recognise the right of all children to benefit from social security, and to have an adequate standard of living to guarantee their physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development.

FIGURE 14
LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): INCIDENCE OF MULTIDIMENSIONAL, EXTREME AND TOTAL CHILD POVERTY, AND PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN IN INDIGENT AND POOR HOUSEHOLDS (INCOME METHOD), AROUND 2011^a
(Percentages)



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) (2014), Social Panorama of Latin America, 2013 (LC/G.2580) Santiago Chile, United Nations publications, sales No.: S.14.II.G.6,

Note: ^a The figures for total child poverty include extreme child poverty; and the figures for income poverty include children in indigent households. ^b Urban zones.

Analysing the poverty situation among children using both methodologies has implications for identifying which children are poor and which policies are most appropriate for protecting them. There are children in situations of child poverty because they are deprived of one dimension, associated with one of the rights established in the CRC, but who live in households that are not poor in monetary income terms. The opposite situation also exists, and there is a large proportion who are in both situations of risk and vulnerability. Knowing this ought to affect targeting, for example, programmes to overcome poverty, which should not only consider households that are below the predetermined income level, but also multidimensional measures that make it possible to more effectively reach those who most need help.

The above becomes even more relevant knowing that, although Latin America in recent years has achieved a significant reduction in income poverty among all age groups, the reduction has been much less among children. A child is more likely to be born into a poor household than to one whose incomes are above the poverty line; and a child also a higher probability of living in a household in which there is no adult affiliated to social security, although this is subject to significant inequality (over 80% of children in the first quintile are in this situation). One of the causes of the age-welfare imbalance is the bias that exists in social protection policies and programmes (Rossel, 2013), and in the shortcomings they display in redistributing resources, closing poverty gaps and reducing inequalities. It also shows the

lack of an intergenerational approach and mechanisms to ensure that social protection actions are linked to the welfare of the adults and children.

- Transfer-programme conditionalities

Although it is possible to distinguish social protection instruments targeting households (generally with children) and others directly targeting childhood, it is interesting to observe CCTs in particular, given the importance they have been acquiring in the region.

It is widely argued that one of the most important objectives of these programmes is to increase human capital, bearing in mind that resources are targeted on families with young children. The studies undertaken in the Development Division of ECLAC, in conjunction with UNICEF LACRO,¹¹ focusing on childhood social protection programmes in the countries in the region, raise a number of valid questions on their conception and implementation, from a child-rights approach, mainly in terms of the conditionalities. These accompany the other pillar of tensions associated with the gender-perspective criticisms made of CCTs.

These questions, which are useful for triggering debate on the subject, although answers are lacking, include the following:

Are conditionalities necessary, or inevitable? What could be learned from other regions of the world where transfers are not conditional? What good, what hard work, what ethic is being protected through the conditionalities? Do they represent the merit needed to access or maintain the benefit? How does one define which merit, how much of it, and for how long it needs to be sustained to access what is usually a very small amount of money?

In many countries the conducts being elicited have a very high level of expression and are almost universal, responding to extended legal and moral obligations (for example, attending primary school and medical check-ups). What assumptions are implicitly being made about children who live in poor households and their families? Are their parents unconcerned about their health and education; don't they love them enough? If they do not display those conducts, are the reasons their own or are they external to the families? In these cases, and to the extent that the conditionalities act as criteria of eligibility and maintenance in the programme, how much do they contribute to their exclusion from protection networks and the human right to survival; how much do they contribute to overcoming information problems?

In the countries of the region, is there an accessible supply of adequate and quality services to meet the demand generated in fulfilling the conditionalities, and to achieve the proposed objectives? If unconditional services and transfers existed, would families access them and use them, or is it assumed they would still not do so?

Could the administrative and management costs generated by the conditionalities (identification of beneficiaries, monitoring of their compliance, implementation of sanctions, coordination mechanisms) not be better used to increase the amount of the transfers and thus have greater effects on overcoming poverty and promoting family welfare? Why is it not sufficient to see the transfer as a mechanism for guaranteeing the right to survival?

After more than 15 years' implementation, would it be possible to innovate in the conditionalities so that they are not exclusively related to health and education, and, for example, strengthen the right to play and sport, defined in the CRC? Would it be possible to be more creative without losing sight of the gender-equality objective, and not make women pay the cost of the transfer through the conditionality in terms of the time and energy, which they, almost exclusively, have to expend in fulfilling it, given that the gender division of labour means that men are not usually involved in these activities?

If Latin America is a continent that shares common problems, but at the same time there is great heterogeneity in situations between countries and within them, why are the same policy tools used in all

¹¹ See online studies at: <http://www.cepal.org/dds/publicaciones/>.

scenarios? And do not the urban and rural realities and the poverty situation faced by indigenous families warrant designing and implementing specific mechanisms?

- To make childhood a priority

Lastly, the specifics of social protection targeting childhood and adolescence raise challenges related directly to launching a debate to agree upon the importance of dealing with children and adolescents under certain specific parameters based on the rights enshrined in the CRC and the risks and vulnerabilities they face.

Latin America needs to create, expand and improve its social protection systems; and these efforts need to be guided by the decision to treat childhood as a priority in public-policy formulation and in budgetary appropriations.

The State has a central responsibility as guarantor and executing agency, and also in designing a wide-ranging social protection agenda. In this area, policies targeted on children and the exercise of their rights need to have the following characteristics:

- (1) be well-defined with the aim of: overcoming backwardness in areas such as education, health and nutrition, among others; reducing the income inequalities of households with children; satisfying care needs and safeguarding the rights of care-providers.
- (2) have resources clearly assigned for their objectives, and undertake sustained investment in childhood to ensure access to, and the quality and efficiency of the public services needed for child welfare.
- (3) be based on laws that guarantee the exercise of rights, with established complaint, enforceability and reparation mechanisms.
- (4) be coordinated, integrated and intersectoral, and synergetically aim to break the cycle of intergenerational reproduction of poverty.
- (5) be universal with an emphasis on equality and non-discrimination.
- (6) accentuate the close link between poverty and inequality and its territorial distribution with the aim of implementing specific/selective policies in the context of universal policies.

C. Social protection in Uruguay: universal policies, targeted programmes and affirmative actions

Andrés Scagliola,
Director of Social Policies, MIDES, Uruguay

There is a regional debate, mirroring the one taking place in this seminar, on the idea of shifting the focus from poverty reduction towards reducing inequalities. There is also regional discussion that is shifting from equal opportunities towards equal outcomes, which focuses not only on policy coverage but also on the quality of those policies. In Uruguay, there is also a debate on these issues, particularly on education policies — not only in terms of coverage and accessibility, but also in terms of retention, results, and graduation.

Since 2008, with the implementation of the Equity Plan, Uruguay has viewed targeted programmes and affirmative actions as subsidiaries of universal policies; their ultimate objective must be to create conditions for people to be able to access universal policies. There is also a need to put care services on the social protection agenda, and rethink the design of targeted programmes, particularly CCTs, from a human rights perspective. In addition, affirmative actions are being introduced targeting those who had been “forgotten” by policymakers and targeted programmes.

In relation to care services, Uruguay is experiencing an ageing process which makes this country one of the oldest, along with Cuba, in Latin America and the Caribbean. This constitutes a central element in the need to act on care services. Another indicator, women's participation in the labour market, has risen considerably; and this, in conjunction with ageing, is fuelling a "care crisis" — an ever-growing number of people in situations of dependency and needing care, but ever fewer people to care for them. Moreover, the distribution of unpaid work by gender and income quintiles shows how the time devoted to unpaid work by men and women is changing: it can be seen that men remain unalterable in respect of events such as the birth of a child, which require time for attention and care.

Uruguay has a track record in this domain. It held a public debate on the topic, which used to be thought of as a "first-world problem"; but when opportunities for participation were provided, people took them and demanded actions in this domain. Recently an evaluation was made, in which a number of care experiences were put forward that were implemented during the government's term of office: inclusive programmes for children with disabilities in early childhood care centres; a programme to be deployed in 2014, which will provide personal assistants for those who are dependent owing to disability; the pilot programme of personal assistants in the "*respiro*" [breather] regime for older adults looking after disabled persons; the regulation and supervision of longstay residencies for older adults, which has been moved from the Ministry of Public Health to the Ministry of Social Development; the extension of maternal and paternal leave periods, and incorporation of the half-day work regime that both mothers and fathers will be able to choose to care for their children; and lastly, the training of caregivers with a strong component of training on gender and human rights issues. The formation of a care system network in civil society is also part of this process.

In 2014 we will present a care services "White Paper", outlining a public-policy proposal for the government — setting out different care-policy scenarios, along with their financing and service proposals, viewing care as a human right.

The two major transfer programmes that currently exist in Uruguay —the Uruguay Social Card (TUS) and Family Allowances— both have weaknesses and strengths from a human rights perspective.

The TUS now has an affirmative component for "trans" persons (tranvestite, transgender, transsexual), who were excluded prior to this programme. Nonetheless, the programme is based on a ministerial decision that could easily be revoked by an authority of different political persuasion, and its amount is not legally indexed. This programme does not have conditionalities.

The Family Allowances Programme is more robust, enshrined in law and indexed; and it incorporates the traditional health and education conditionalities. A discussion has thus begun, under the human-rights perspective, and based on the discussion that has been taking place at the regional level on the issue of conditionalities. In the past, Uruguay, along with Brazil and other countries, subscribed to a regime in which the important thing was to sustain incomes, with conditionalities playing a very weak role. This year there has been a punitive change of course with respect to conditionalities, which needs to be discussed to consider what the conditionalities are and how stringently they will be enforced.

I believe this debate should be nudged from the concept of conditionalities to the notion of co-responsibilities, with the idea that responsibilities are shared. The State has a commitment to provide incomes, and to some extent families have a duty to uphold certain rights, particularly for children.

With respect to transfer programmes, progress also needs to be made, from the human-rights perspective, on enforceability mechanisms, which need to be much more effective and adapted to people's reality, and also on participation mechanisms, since Uruguay has no participation mechanisms related to this type of programme. Moreover, the notion of "vulnerability to poverty" needs to be built into the design of these transfers. This is highly concentrated in discourse, but the design of these programmes has not been reconsidered in the light of these new ideas: that, by exceeding a specific poverty threshold, a person does not necessarily need to exit this type of programme, at least for a prudential period of time. If a person obtains a job during a period, this needs to be supported and rewarded.

Uruguay has made progress in developing strategies to support and closely accompany families, apart from individuals: programme such as *Cercanías*, *Jóvenes en Red* or *Uruguay Crece Contigo* all promote the

universal and effective nature of these benefits for families. In territorial work, the Seven Zones Plan acts on the local area with a much more integrated approach than merely providing a transfer to overcome poverty.

Lastly, it is important to again draw attention to affirmative actions for people that had been “left behind” by social programmes. This is occurring with the TUS, which has opened up to trans persons (transgender, transsexual and transvestites) and has made it possible to generate a consolidated database on such persons (for example, seven out of every 10 trans persons has not completed basic schooling), as an input for the design of educational and employment alternatives for this socially excluded population group. Another forgotten group in Uruguay are Afrodescendants who have major education deficits in whichever income quintile they belong to. For this group, Law 19.122, on Affirmative Actions, was passed recently.

In short, Uruguay is putting its weight behind a social protection system based on universal policies, which should be of increasing quality, articulated with two instruments to close inequality gaps: social programmes that are targeted in socioeconomic and territorial terms, and affirmative actions for the “other inequalities”, until now forgotten, such as trans persons, Afrodescendants, and the disabled.

D. Towards an integrated early childhood social protection system

***Cristina Lustemberg,
Coordinator of Uruguay Crece Contigo,
Programme of the Planning and Budget Office,
Office of the President of Uruguay***

Uruguay Crece Contigo (UCC) is a programme targeting early childhood, the stage in which the foundations are laid for all of an individual’s later development. Whereas in the first two years of life, a large part of intellectual, emotional, physical-immunological and social development are constituted, between the ages of two and five years, the bases for subsequent learning, formal education, and social skills are established.

Despite the notable progress recorded in recent years, Uruguay still faces major challenges in guaranteeing adequate child development for all of its children.

The key challenge facing the UCC programme is to construct an integrated early-childhood protection system that underpins and guarantees adequate development of all of the country’s children, from gestation to three years of age. For that purpose, Uruguay has a very important base of programmes and benefits that are implemented by various public institutions, or else under working agreements with private institutions or civil society organisations. Nonetheless, there are clear needs to strengthen interagency coordination and move ahead in institution design, to make it possible to govern the system adequately.

A second challenge is to improve the quality of current benefits targeting early childhood, and increase the coverage of various key child-development services. This challenge requires the necessary coordination and synchronisation between the different services targeting this population group.

The third challenge facing the country on early childhood relates to the attention that should be paid to population sectors that still suffer from serious situations of socioeconomic vulnerability, which then turn into damage or risks affecting child development. Despite progress made in reducing poverty and extreme poverty, the country still has families that need special and sustained attention to effectively be able to achieve their social integration. These families require actions that are different from those that have been deployed thus far; and the structure of access to current benefits badly needs revision.

Based on the challenges identified, the government has designed the UCC programme, which began implementation in the last quarter of 2012. The UCC is set up as a State public policy, targeting families with expectant mothers and children under four years of age; and it is supported by a wide-ranging national consensus that guarantees the comprehensiveness of its actions and the intersectoral involvement that it needs.

The general objective of the UCC is to contribute to the process of constructing the aforementioned integrated early childhood protection system, which guarantees comprehensive child development from a rights, equity, social justice and integrated human development perspective. Within this framework, it also includes a component of direct attention for situations of special vulnerability faced by certain families in which Uruguay and children are living and growing up.

In terms of specific objectives, the UCC proposes to: (i) generate useful knowledge for the design, monitoring and evaluation of protection policies targeting early childhood, through the interagency articulation of existing information, generation of the necessary data, and research; (ii) carry out educational and promotion actions to affect the behaviour and quality of life of the families and improve the quality of services promoting adequate child development; (iii) reduce the incidence of socio-health risk factors and damage in children under four years of age and expectant mothers, prioritising the situations of greatest vulnerability; and (iv) strengthen institutions, networks and local mechanisms for guaranteeing better development of the social protection system linked to early childhood.

The programme operates in the domain of the Office of the President of the Republic, through the Planning and Budget Office (OPP), reporting to the OPP Territorial Policies Area. Policy management is in the hands of the OPP, in agreement with the Ministry of Public Health (MSP) and the Ministry of Social Development (MIDES). The implementation of the UCC is managed by a Central Technical Unit (UTC), which is responsible for setting work goals with the appropriate strategic planning, coordinating with the sector entities involved and monitoring and evaluating the actions. In addition to the essential work done by the UTC, the management of the UCC has a strong territorial focus. For that reason, technical teams have been set up that work in each of the departments.

The benefits provided by each of the components of the UCC involve all sectors that work on early childhood issues in Uruguay. For that reason, the implementation of the UCC has defined interagency coordination mechanisms, in which the OPP coordinates the actions and strategic guidelines on early childhood, either directly or through the UTC. These mechanisms are: (i) the Interagency Coordination Roundtable (chaired by the OPP with participation from MSP and MIDES); (ii) the Interagency Technical Coordination Roundtable (chaired by the UTC/UCC and consisting of the MSP, MIDES, MEC, INAU and INAU/Plan CAIF, ASSE, ANEP, MTSS/ INDA, BPS); and (iii), the Academic Advisory Council (consisting of professionals of recognised academic track record).

The programme components are as follows:

1. Family support and proximity work;
2. Universal socio-educational-health actions;
3. Knowledge generation;
4. Institutional capacity strengthening.

Component 1 has the following objectives: (i) reduce the prevalence of anaemia in pregnancy and among children under four; (ii) reduce the incidence of gestational syphilis; (iii) improve the quality of pregnancy health check-ups and early adherence thereto; (iv) reduce the incidence of children of low weight and low size for their age; (v) guarantee access to the corresponding social benefits; and (vi) improve comprehensive childhood development.

To fulfil these objectives, the programme will work with proximity teams consisting of technical workers from the health and social areas, who support families with expectant mothers and children under four years of age living in situations of biological and social risk. This support last for between four and 13 months. These teams are currently working with 5,007 children under four, along with 1,818 expectant mothers and their families. In over 90% of the cases, the children undergo Hb screening, and nutritional and development and evaluation. Expectant mothers also undergo Hb screening and nutritional assessment.

Component 2 has the following objectives: (i) undertake campaigns to raise public awareness of the importance of early childhood and care for expectant mothers; (ii) provide support and advice on

communication strategies on early childhood and expectant mothers to the institutions involved in the subject; (iii) promote healthy life habits and education on parenting skills and child rearing; and (iv) deliver a set of materials to families related to bringing up children and empowerment through basic knowledge on the rights of the family, for all children born in the country. Since February, a set of educational materials and basic materials for the newborn child has been provided to expectant mothers and children under one year of age who participate in the *Cercanías* programme. Since October, a set of educational materials has been provided to all of the country's maternity hospitals; and, in November, an awareness campaign was launched on the importance of early childhood and care for expectant mothers.

Component 3 has the following objectives: (i) undertake nationwide studies to ascertain the nutritional status and psycho-motor development of early childhood, and describe child-rearing practices, in conjunction with other private studies; and (ii) strengthen the currently existing information systems, to integrate them into the integrated social area information system (SIAS) and enable them to comprehensively monitor the situation of early childhood. At the present time, the First National Survey of Child Health, Nutrition and Development is being undertaken, along with the component 1 impact evaluation of proximity monitoring.

Lastly, component 4 has the following objectives: (i) improve the equipment and small-scale infrastructure works in health centres and early-childhood care services; and (ii) support the implementation of the National Early Childhood Care System. Accordingly, several projects are currently underway to upgrade equipment, improve information systems and management, and support human resources in public health services and early-education services.

E. Comments

**Rubén Lo Vuolo,
CIEPP, Argentina**

The rights approach, as it has been presented in this panel, raises a question: how do obligations relate to the rights approach? One might think that the rights approach, especially when the dimensions of social rights are incorporated as human rights, tends to consolidate the unconditional nature of these rights. Nonetheless, an omnipresent discourse in social policies, including in this seminar for the case of Uruguay, is to “not give anything in exchange for nothing”, except in the case of cash transfers to persons or families. In other words, the fulfilment of obligations or counterparts is required to gain access to certain benefits of the social protection system, in the belief that the primary obligation and source of resources is the labour market. Accordingly, it would be interesting to deepen the discussion on this relation between rights and obligations in the social sphere, particularly in view of what Nieves Rico argues in terms of CCT conditionalities. Why, specifically in this type of programme, are conditionalities demanded which are often punitive? How are these obligations justified from the rights approach, and to what extent do they establish a specific segmentation of human rights themselves?

The second issue I would like to mention in this comment on the rights approach is the assumption that, underlying the rights approach —rights which are generally enshrined in all constitutions of the region's countries— are certain dimensions that are considered basic for human beings — elements to which all persons must have access to be human and to be able to act according to the norms governing social organisation. The question is what does the rights approach have to say when there are people in a society who do not attain basic levels to be human, and other people who, in contrast, have access to economic and social maxima? What treatment should these maxima be given? Are rights to access the maxima unlimited when there are people that do not even have the basics? Thirdly, it seems to me that a relevant issue for the rights approach is the role of preventing harm for the universe of the population covered by social protection institutions. The social protection system is characterised by the prevention of harm to people (for example, in the biological development of early childhood). But that prevention requires certain techniques of action; for example, targeting is instrumentally unable to address this problem, because the targeting occurs after the damage has been

verified. The rights approach should further discuss the preventive nature of a universal policy on certain damages considered prejudicial for the human condition, particularly when it was made clear that processes are important in the rights approach, as this panel has rightly pointed out. Targeted programmes can complement the lack or failure of preventive universalism, but cannot substitute for its preventive nature. Targeted, curative, segmented and conditional programmes cannot be seen as a first step towards preventive universalism, because their operating rationale is different. The rights approach seeks to permanently guarantee conditions for being human, and this cannot be achieved with temporary and targeted programmes.

Lastly, the issue of the distribution of work in the home calls for a more in-depth discussion of work and employment in all domains of social practice. There is a persistent confusion in these two terms which is also crucial for understanding the problems of social protection systems: employment involves a market relation, whereas work is more complex and encompasses more elements and relations linked to the productive and creative capacity of the human being. A discussion of the distribution of labour in the household and in other social spaces also implies discussion of the distribution of employment and hours of employment in the market. It can easily be shown that it is impossible to obtain full employment for all men and all women who want to be employed, let alone those who wish to work full-time. There is a need to distribute work times in the household and distribute work times in the market, and to seek mechanisms to free up employment time in the market for use in the home and other domains of life.

In my opinion, these elements, which call into question the theoretical foundations and practices of social protection policies from the rights approach, need to be taken into account when observing and discussing how to improve social protection systems, in the universalist sense, in the region.

IX. Universal social protection, challenges and prospects

Simone Cecchini, CEPAL

Over the last decade, Latin America has made major efforts to build more inclusive social protection systems, which respond to a rights approach, are financed on a solidarity basis and have universal coverage. Nonetheless, the countries of the region still have a long way to go in this regard. The challenges of consolidating universal social protection systems that help to build more egalitarian societies remain very large and vary according to the socioeconomic and political conditions of each country. The aim of this panel is therefore to discuss some of the challenges facing the design and implementation of universal social protection systems, and future prospects for the expansion and strengthening of social protection.

In this panel, the following three questions were posed to the presenters:

1. The debate on targeting and universalism in social protection policies and programmes is long-standing but far from being resolved; and it often becomes mired in irreconcilable and unconstructive positions. In several publications ECLAC has sought to cut through this dilemma by arguing that “targeting is an instrument whereas universality is an end”, or that “resources can be targeted to universalize rights”. How valid is this position and which of its conceptual elements are strengths or weaknesses?
2. The new social protection frontier in Latin America seems to involve the articulation of the contributory component with the non-contributory one. What are the most promising proposals for taking this articulation further? The non-contributory social protection floor of the ILO, which seeks articulation as in a ladder, with obligatory and voluntary contributory insurance instruments? Santiago Levy’s proposal of insurance systems for formal and informal workers financed from consumption taxes? The universalism that seeks to decouple social protection from labour-market participation? Or others?

3. Investing in social issues or investing in economic issues? This often sounds like a zero-sum game, and investment in social protection systems is seen as eminently unproductive. Looking at Latin American and developed-country experiences, Europe in particular, what are the most valid arguments and most relevant experiences for sustaining a vision in which investing in social protection means also investing in development and growth?

**Fernando Filgueira,
Consultant, ECLAC**

When discussing the issue of targeting and universalism, it needs to be made clear that the positions adopted are not only technical, but also ideological and normative.

Firstly, targeting as a tool is clearly valid and is used in all social protection systems around the world. Nonetheless, the place of targeting within social protection systems needs to be questioned. In the classic distinction made by Esping-Andersen, targeting-based social protection models stem from the idea that the correct eligibility principle for providing a benefit to a person is demonstrated need; in other words a person who is below a certain welfare threshold and who cannot attain this welfare threshold by other means. In the social-democratic tradition, the eligibility criterion is citizenship, for which reason targeting tend to be justified for populations that have access difficulties or the need for certain benefits beyond what basic social protection benefits guarantee universally; and in the corporate-conservative tradition, the principle of eligibility is participation in the formal labour market. In that framework, targeting is a valid tool since it completes a citizenship principle and is founded on a need for protection that is not covered by corporate mechanisms. In this case, targeting is not based on income but the absence of contributory insurance.

From a dynamic standpoint, if the ultimate objective is to de-marketise the basic levels needed for a decent life for all persons, and to generate a universal basic social protection floor, the targeting tool may be part of the transition towards that universal social protection floor. To some extent this was part of the road travelled by the Nordic countries in transiting from models inspired in laws for the poor to models of eligibility based on citizenship; in short, for all the routes and at various stages of the construction of social citizenship, targeting can be a valid tool. But from my preferred perspective, targeting cannot be the principle of social protection: when the market does not include and the family does not protect, then State social protection is justified. This point of view is normatively and technically inadequate for building a society that combines the objectives of effectiveness, efficiency and equity of social protection, while also promoting social cohesion.

Secondly, with regard to the problem of distributive coalitions, it needs to be remembered that targeting, as a central and stable tool of the social protection system, which covers a relatively large proportion of the population, raises problems for the constitution of a distributive coalition of poor, emerging and middle-income sectors. Targeting tends to generate gaps and perceptions of fiscal injustice. Targeting always involves this type of risk, in the construction of stable distributive coalitions between middle-income, poor and emerging sectors.

Thirdly, it needs to be understood that the targeting tool has many more facets than those considered in the general normative or technical debate: targeting can be used to complete universality, but in that case it is not targeting. Targeting is also not a problem if specific territories are selected if, within them, access to the goods or benefits are not legally limited to certain social sectors. Targeting is thus *de facto* but not *de jure*, knowing that the goods and benefits will be used overwhelmingly by the most vulnerable sectors. This is what happened in the *Remediar* programme in Argentina, which is located in certain zones, and all inhabitants could collect the basic package of medicines; but they went predominantly to certain sectors. Nor is targeting a problem, within a universal matrix, if resources are increased in certain provider units (for example, in extended-day or full-time schools). The targeting of cash transfers is a different thing, or the targeting of benefits in segmented systems defined by an income threshold.

On the second question, concerning articulation between the contributory and non-contributory social protection systems, there is a fiscal problem. Financing a robust universal expenditure model out of general revenues is the maximum of redistribution. If a stratified monetary benefit is financed from a payroll levy which is the same for all, this is less redistributive. Accordingly, in fiscal terms, universal models tend to be more redistributive than traditional contributory ones. One of the problems that arises when access to insurance and social-security systems are financed from payroll taxes is that one is then taking money from a person's wage, so that after the expansion of personal income tax (IRPF) — which would be the most redistributive modality — there is only a small margin left. The position adopted here is that it is better to take more through the IRPF than through the contributions deducted from the wage, and thus also reduce the stratified benefits and gaps of the contributory model.

The second problem in contributory models, particularly pensions but also health, concerns regressive subsidies. A model with a stratified benefits system involves very untransparent subsidies in distributive terms. These subsidies partly go to certain sectors that did not contribute enough to receive the benefits, nor do they need them as much as other sectors.

There is a clear need to articulate the contributory with the non-contributory. The challenges in articulating them are multiple and varied in the countries; but a basic principle, a rule, is that subsidies should be transparent. Subsidies also need to be progressive to correct the stratification of the contributory system and generate flexible access, so that the eligibility criteria are more citizen-based and not merely contributory.

Of the three proposals —that of Santiago Levy, basic universalism, and the social protection floor of the ILO— there is a clear preference for the basic universalism model. The ILO tradition is strongly rooted in the contributory model, although it recognises the need for a basic protection floor. Santiago Levy's position has a number of problems with its mode of financing that could be less regressive, and also protection that would necessarily only be for workers and not the rest of the population. An aspect of the Levy model which is hard to understand is why move to a system that is fully funded from the financial system rather than a traditional pay-as-you-go system financed from consumption taxes.

It is interesting to note that these proposals, plus the idea of the citizen wage, as promoted by Rubén Lo Vuolo in various forums, are four proposals that 15 or 20 years ago were not being discussed and were difficult to bring to the table. Now they are discussed across the spectrum, from centre-right to left.

Lastly, on the question of whether to invest in social or economic issues, it should be stressed that social policy is economic policy. Furthermore, given what macroeconomic policy can do in terms of changing the course of development and growth, social policy is one of the most important policies. Accordingly, investing in social issues means investing in economic issues if one knows where to invest. The formula consists of promoting fertility around replacement rates, convergent fertility, low stratification and high rates of female participation in the labour market, and to achieve low rates of child poverty, below the general poverty level. All of this — in addition to increasing the use of productive factors in the present — is investment in intertemporal equity and future productivity. It is therefore necessary to ensure good orientation of social spending in a productivist sense, but not productivist in the residual sense that without entering the labour market there are no robust benefits, but instead to have robust benefits that provide incentives for a person to enter the labour market.

The key factor in the swing to the left and its consolidation depends on constructing a stable distributive coalition with political expression among the poor, vulnerable, and middle-income groups. To achieve that, efforts need to be made to significantly increase the production of quality public and collective goods (urban regulation and land use, public recreation spaces and inter-class meeting spaces, security, public transport), and the expansion of merit goods (education, health, basic nutrition in childhood), with subsidies to expand and guarantee their generalised consumption, along with a reduction in the share of private goods or positional goods that have conspicuous consumption characteristics.

If the path of future Latin American development tends to be dominated by an attempt to privately construct status by purchasing private goods and the construction of differentiations through positional goods, because it has proven impossible to generate an adequate quality of public goods and merit goods,

then it will be difficult, if not impossible, to sustain the distributive coalition that affords continuity to a progressive redistribution path. But that also means reducing the growth of private wages and promoting the social wage — State expenditure financed with genuine revenues targeting public, collective and merit goods, as mentioned above. The persistent centrality of contributory pension systems and other private schemes, along with greater private access to basic health care, the abandonment of public education by middle-income sectors, public transport, and urban public spaces in context of progressive governments and economic growth are evidence that the access routes to welfare are expanding in a way that is unsustainable environmentally, economically, socially and politically for an inclusive welfare project (not to mention a green one — a topic that is absent from these reflections).

**Armando Barrientos,
University of Manchester**

Taking the third question first, namely whether to invest in social or economic issues, I agree with Filgueira that there is no difference between the two. Investment in social issues is also an investment in economic issues. It is very easy to verify, and not only technically, that there is a relation between social protection, poverty reduction and economic growth. Programmes that promote human development, in terms of both health and education, have a direct relationship with the labour market and with productivity. This relation is easy to describe both qualitatively and quantitatively, but the information in question is not well presented to the public. The question that many public-policy makers ask is the following: if we are going to invest in poverty-reduction programmes, what will be the return to GDP growth in a few years' time? It is a question that is hard to answer in an unequal society, because for the lowest quintiles that account for a small share of GDP, strong economic growth would also generate a small increase in GDP. The GDP measurement does not include social values in the economic growth of different socioeconomic groups; and a dollar of growth for the poor is treated the same as a dollar of growth for the super-rich. In contrast, our societies attach a higher social value to growth among the poorer groups of the population. Bearing in mind the distribution of social values, it is possible to give social priority to increasing productivity and income in the lowest-income sectors.

On the second issue, articulation between the contributory and non-contributory, I believe that it is very premature to discuss this. The region's social development ministries were only created in the last five years. Changing the structure so soon is premature; this new institution needs to be given time. It should also be remembered that efforts to integrate informal workers into social insurance schemes can result in failure, as shown by the example of Argentina in the 1990s, when the self-employed fund was set up to include informal workers, and it failed; or the example of Brazil and its policy in rural areas with *Previdência Rural* in 1993, where it is unknown whether it worked or not. Recently, Chile created the Solidarity Pension which includes informal workers at a high fiscal cost. Here it can be argued that what the State is really doing is taking responsibility for sectors of the population that the private pension system shuns, and is thus using public subsidies to reinforce the inequity of the private pension system.

There are also concerns over the contribution that Latin American social protection makes in the world. There is an international discussion on what will be done post-2015 and the Millennium Development Goals. In this regard, there is consensus on reducing poverty to zero by 2020-2030. This is easy for Latin American countries, but one needs to be more ambitious and reduce not only poverty and extreme poverty, but also bring moderate poverty down to zero. So what can be done to improve the dissemination of Latin America's social protection to other regions?

**Carmen Midaglia,
University of the Republic, Uruguay**

I am going to speak to the first two questions, based on research with a political science focus that we did in the Institute of Political Science of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of the Republic.

There is broad consensus that Latin America has made significant progress in economic and social terms over the last decade. In the field of social protection particularly, advances that would be important to highlight include the institutionalisation of the social assistance component by stabilising a set of programmes (basically CCTs), and the complementarity of other programmes.

Apart from their impact on the beneficiary population, social assistance programmes have a number of political impacts: (i) previously excluded groups entered the social protection system; (ii) it was possible to abandon political arguments that only growth would enable those groups to break free from poverty; (iii) the State publicly assumed its responsibility for this type of social situation, stabilising programmes and assigning them their own budgets in most countries of the region, although the amounts paid are small compared to other social investments.

Progress in social protection in Latin America over the last decade occurred not only in the social-assistance components, but also in the labour-market and health domains. The Ministry of Social Development of Uruguay has already described Uruguay's evolution in terms of labour and health regulations, so I will not discuss that here. This set of public policies has substantially improved social indicators in Latin America, and in Uruguay in particular, during a period of economic growth. It is possible to state, without being considered ideological, that the post-2002 crisis governments, led by the political left, repositioned the State in terms of social protection and made modest changes to the orientation of a number of social or welfare policies.

But the news on social protection is not all good. In Latin America, and particularly in Uruguay, the social protection system is dualized, as evidenced by very different formats of provision of goods and services between the non-contributory assistance component targeting vulnerable groups and the contributory components linked to labour markets. Apart from that dualization, there is a clear stratification within the contributory component, which results in a social security and labour-market-related supply of goods that are highly segmented. It is worth asking whether that situation is historical, or, on the contrary, it is new in Latin America. This point is important for being able to engage in a political debate on where we are going, beyond the social-policy models that can be presented or the way in which we can discuss these models. In my opinion, there are new things clearly, but also things that form part of historical legacies. For some reason, international classifications consider Uruguay as an intermediate welfare state, with a informal welfare component, combined with universal policies, as in the case of Argentina. Apart from certain features inherited from the past, we argue that there are new elements, as mentioned below, which block possible processes for the universalisation of social protection. These elements are the outcomes of the inheritance of market-oriented socioeconomic reform, which for the Uruguayan case was incorporated extremely moderately, but had an impact on basic political nuclei of welfare.

Where that impact is first seen is in the deterioration of universal social services and the flight of certain middle-income social sectors to the market to satisfy their needs (this situation will not be reversed in the short term). The second element is the exacerbation of corporate or meso-corporate defensive behaviours, fearing cuts or loss of benefits. These patterns of behaviour existed before, but they operated in a broader context of negotiation in which these conducts were moderated. The third element involves promotion of the dichotomous technical and political approach to social stratification that divides society between core and non-core, resulting in the design of policies that are sometimes highly focused. In the current context this does not even capture the complexity and needs of sectors living in poverty, or those that are close to it. Lastly, and we believe this is one of the most important impacts, political aspects in the discussion on welfare tend to be confined or overshadowed. It is worth asking what political aspects are overshadowed in the discussion on welfare. In my opinion, when strategies are put forward for reformulating and universalising social protection, consideration should be given to collective stakeholders, particularly those related to the capital-labour problem.

It also needs to be remembered that in a corporate or meso-corporate context of exacerbation of collective sectoral demands resulting from a highly segmented labour market, collective actors, parties and governments have not only to intermediate the interests of socioeconomic groups but also moderate those interests and even change their preferences. This is a broader political project that also legitimizes those political parties in the eyes of citizens and projects them in power. This type of political operation, which underlies public discussion on welfare, involves generating relatively broad socioeconomic alliances that will definitely include middle-income strata. It is also important to stress that the middle-income strata play a strategic role in setting up pro-distribution coalitions. There is no distribution if those social sectors are excluded, with the internal heterogeneity that characterises them at the present time. Having said that, if one includes middle-income strata, the objectives and targeting criteria of some benefits need to be changed to make them serve as a link between employment and assistance. In addition, the quality of services provided needs to be reviewed, and attempts made to incorporate the average preferences of the social groups.

Lastly, I would like to say that I do not identify these political elements in the basic universal social-policy models proposed for discussion: I do not identify them in the protection floor initiative or in basic universalism, or in the so-called efficient universalism proposed by Santiago Levy.

**Enrique Valencia Lomelí,
University of Guadalajara**

Towards the consolidation of progress made. Apart from all the polemics over whether or not conditional cash-transfer programmes (CCTs) were not the best way to include sectors traditionally abandoned by the region's social security institutions, in a short space of time these programmes generated a new institutional framework and incorporated new services and income transfers to poor sectors. Thus, although these programmes did not include the rights approach in their original designs, they implied a minimal step forward in terms of social rights. Any change that put these advances at risk would retrograde. In this context, a central point will be to avoid regressiveness and promote progressiveness (in other words the expansion of effectively guaranteed rights).

Towards consolidation with a rights approach. CCTs tend to become permanent income transfers. The initial programmes have now been running for 16 years. In Mexico, *Oportunidades*, according to current plans, will last for at least five more years to reach the age of 20. The trend in the region is for continuity and permanency. CCTs are thus becoming solid, legitimate and socially established institutions shared by various political currents. Nonetheless, one of the weaknesses of CCTs is that they are generally programmatic transfers, not objectivized in terms of legal rights: there are no rights holders in this framework. One possibility, in the framework of existing experiences, is to turn the CCTs into citizen-income mechanisms, under a rights rationale, with clear mechanisms for moving toward universality, enforceability, and justiciability. The Latin American experience of supporting citizens in access to public services, more under the Brazilian rationale than on the orthodox rationale of "conditionality", could strengthen process towards a universal citizen income, guaranteed initially to poor sectors. The Latin American countries are already spending an average of 0.4% of GDP on CCTs. This would be the initial realistic fiscal basis for progressively moving towards an unconditional universal income. Another possibility, based on the European experience and that of a number of Latin American countries, is to turn CCTs into family-allowance schemes with rules that tend towards universalization. In the heterogeneity of Latin American welfare regimes, the key is to ensure processes of progressiveness with proposals adapted to this diversity.

Toward universality that avoids segregation. Along with other basic-package programmes in terms of health and non-contributory pensions, CCTs are creating a network of institutions for the poor alongside the social security networks (articulated on various occasions with access to high-quality private services). This runs the risk of generating a closed institutional framework, without porosity or linkage between the parts of the social protection system: institutions for the poor and institutions for the

middle- and high-income sectors. This could gradually generate a new inertial process that would break with the idea that “targeting is an instrument whereas universality is an end”. A basic floor for poor people, in the framework of seriously limited upward social mobility, could become a sort of social basement or a new institutional ghetto; in other words it could become a new mechanism of segregation. The problem here is the absence of porosity (or mobility), and the presence of segmentation associated with hierarchization. When everyone lives together on the “floor”, in other words at a basic universal minimum level (universal basic pension, universal public health and universal public education), everyone defends its quality; that way, a basic floor for all citizens is better in terms of equality and non-discrimination, unlike a basic floor for the poor.

Towards the unification of social protection systems. When there are serious difficulties in achieving universality through the contributory component (via formal employment) in social protection systems, one possibility is to articulate the non-contributory and contributory components through financing from general taxes. Ultimately, the objective is to move towards unification of the systems (universal basic pension, public health or universal social security, protection against the risk of unemployment and others). Nonetheless, there are institutional histories and inertias, institutionalised power spaces, that become real factors of veto that impede unification. Firstly, various schemes already exist for financing social security systems through general taxes (financing of the guaranteed basic pension, financing of the pension deficit and the health system in social security, etc.). In addition, the non-contributory component is publicly financed, so the starting point is not zero. Secondly, there are various possibilities both in the proposals put forward and in experiences of unification. Santiago Levy’s partial unification proposal involves replacing contributions with value-added tax. In terms of fiscal progressiveness, it would be better to finance the system with income taxes and fully universalise it, with public administration of the financial proceeds. Another possibility is to maintain the contributions, make insurance compulsory (in health, for example) and use public funds to subsidise the contributions made by certain sectors on a targeted basis (for example, female domestic workers in certain countries; indigenous peoples and peasant farmers). The problem in the latter case is how to obtain contributions from informal sectors. There are other possibilities: how to achieve unification and guarantee the right to health in a context of high segmentation and heavy marketisation of the health system? In Korea for example, with very high levels of private-sector supply, health insurance was unified in a public financial entity, public regulation was strengthened and an ingenious regulation on compulsory attention at hospitals was created. Ways exist; the key is to construct schemes that are appropriate to the various national paths (regimes).

Towards active integration of middle-income sectors in a universalist approach. A serious problem for the unification of systems (health for example) is the possible perception of the middle-income sectors that they have lost services or their quality, in countries with a long history of social security (whether tendentially universalist or dualist regimes), or that they will not obtain quality services in countries with weak institutions (or exclusive regimes). The political economy of unification and universalism requires a solid coalition centred on rights, in which the middle-income sectors also participate.

Towards the transparency of privileges in social protection systems. Market inequalities in the region are already huge, particularly if measured by capital rather than by income alone. Despite reductions in income inequality in certain countries, Latin America remains the most unequal region of the world. What is notable in this framework is that alongside the generation of institutions for the poor, at the other extreme additional benefits continue to be maintained or augmented for specially protected sectors (particularly senior officials of the government, legislature and judiciary) with an approach (supposedly) based on meritocracy rather than rights. Ultimately, inequalities are a matter of power; and social protection systems objectivize those power relations. Legalised advantages in social protection systems for certain privileged sectors further accentuate the inequalities; they thus become privileged protection systems, which do not reduce market inequality. Under a rights logic, maximum transparency in relation to privileges can encourage discussion or public deliberation; from the standpoint of defending privileges, opacity is a guarantee and a need. Latin America thus requires the greatest possible transparency in respect of these privileges in protection systems.

**Rubén Lo Vuolo,
CIEPP**

My proposal is the opposite of the neoliberal paradigm (which consists of targeting in social expenditure and universalism in taxes). In contrast, it seems more appropriate for the region to have a paradigm of universalism in social spending and greater targeting in taxes. This would avoid the often-mentioned problems of social expenditure targeting, such as stigmatization of the beneficiary poor; there is no problem of stigmatising the rich in the tax area. Nonetheless, many progressive governments in the region today continue to defend a targeted expenditure model with universal taxes, typical of the neoliberal paradigm. I also believe there is a need to rethink social protection models (and social organisation in general) based on productivist paradigms. These models assume that at some time there will be full employment for workers, and that in any case programmes are needed for the transition until this full employment is achieved. But the very notion of full employment and the idea that there will be formal employment for all is a fantasy. Full employment only existed in some countries during the roughly 30 years after the Second World War, and then only for the male population. The goal of full employment is less and less attainable given the trends of productivity growth per person employed, the limits to economic growth, and the increasing entry of new population groups into the labour force. Hence also, there is a need to question the centrality accorded to employment in social organisation and public policies. There is a surprising lack of awareness that the preponderance of market employment in the organisation of society means giving the capitalist power to decide each person's rights, because it is the capitalist who decides whether or not to hire market labour. There is a permanent rhetorical discourse among progressive governments denouncing the power of capital, the capitalist and entrepreneurs in the organisation and functioning of society; but in fact they are given social power to decide what right each person has and how much those rights depend on market-based employment. Any alternative social protection model, particularly if it aims to be universalist, must remove the capitalist's power to make decisions affecting citizens at large. The State must decide on access and the content of social citizenship collectively, through categories other than worker or employee. Otherwise, there is no alternative to continuing with public policies that reproduce the corporate, segmented, meritocratic structure that characterises the labour market. This inevitably imposes limits on constructing an egalitarian and homogeneous universality if social rights are essentially based on contributory systems.

This is relevant even for evaluating what has happened in the region recently. In any analysis of what has happened in Latin America over the last decade, it needs to be remembered that it was a decade of exceptional economic growth and exceptional employment growth. Governments rely on economic growth for electoral success; and that means that a permanent expectation of growth is created, at a time when the world is discussing the limits to growth caused by ecological problems and the need to harmonise economic growth with natural-resource sustainability. Economic growth has very tight limits under the current productive and consumption paradigms. Accordingly, it is necessary to try to separate the mode of organisation of the social production system as far as possible from economic growth and the situation in the labour market.

This is particularly difficult in Latin America, because most of the countries have not clearly defined the productive system they want, what they want to compete in, and how that economic structure of production and competitiveness can be made compatible with social protection institutions. These indefinitions have tended to be hidden by the global economic dynamic and rising commodity prices. But the underlying problem remains, and whenever growth slows it re-emerges. Apart from a few exceptions, in Latin America it is not very clear what compatibility is desired between the productive model, the social protection system and specific social policies.

This brings me back to the topic put forward in this panel on the political conditions for changes in government structures and institutions in the region's countries. Historically, political conditions are created and at the same time they may be highly circumstantial. For that reason, it is worth discussing the rationality of a given social protection system, even when the political conditions needed to implement it do not exist. A strategy is needed to create the political conditions for its implementation, and it is also necessary to be alert to the possibility that political conditions may change as a result of the unforeseen

factors. It is therefore interesting to discuss the institutional design and social organisation that is aspired to, because even if the enabling conditions do not exist now, they may exist some time in the future.

**Daniel Olesker,
Minister of Social Development, Uruguay**

I discussed the first question of this panel, on the relation between universalism and targeting, in panel I and also in the third chapter of the paper prepared for the seminar (Olesker, 2013), so I will not deal with it again here. I will therefore start with a few thoughts on where we are ideologically. From the political point of view, we are in socialism; from a methodological point of view, in historical materialism, and from the economic standpoint, in dependency theory in its more up-to-date global-economy version.

In terms of constructing the model presented in panel I, the transition elements are based on the text entitled “Compass points” by Eric Olin Wright, which stresses that it is possible to transit from a capitalist system to a socialist system through gradual quantitative and qualitative changes. In this regard, the ECLAC paper “Structural change for equality” is a good document for implementing a distributive coalition, as was the earlier centre-periphery thought of ECLAC, or the dependency thinking of Ruy Mauro Marini and Theotonio Dos Santos, which generated a coalition and challenged the dominant thinking of that time.

The second reflection is that one thing to emerge from all of the papers presented here, is that producing tables of Latin American averages is useless in itself, because it is very hard to talk of countries that are so different. There is a need for a typology of Latin American countries that could be more illuminating, such as what was produced in the 1970s by Vânia Bambilra, Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, or by Theotonio Dos Santos two years ago, or more recently by Clarisa Hardy. This is because some Latin American countries are more like southern Europe, and there is enormous diversity between the countries of the region.

A third point, to answer the third question, is that the link between the economic and social is so intrinsic that it is impossible to think of an integrated protection system without a change in the productive matrix. The theory of value taught us that there is no change in a distributive process without change in the productive process, and that distribution in the productive process is improved by adding value.

The fourth comment, based on what Rubén Lo Vuolo has said, is that in the 1990s we coined the idea that “growth is a necessary but insufficient condition for development”, to combat the notion that growth was the same as development. Nowadays we must progressively adjust this phrase because sometimes growth may not be necessary.

Lastly, to answer the second question (on the three models of social protection), the truth is that we do not have a very clear understanding of what Santiago Levy is proposing. With regard to the other two proposals, it seems that they are problematic for a country such as Uruguay, because it has already gone beyond these two proposals. Moving to a basic-universalism conception means reducing access to certain goods for some parts of the population, and the same is true with the social protection floor. An example is the Chilean AUGE plan (Universal Access to Explicit Guarantees), which was revolutionary in guaranteeing over 70 health benefits (today there are over 120) to populations that have nothing. But if Uruguay had done this rather than the Integrated Health-Care Plan (*Plan Integral de Atención en Salud – PIAS*) it would have significantly reduced health access for between 40% and 25% of the population.

In traditional welfare systems, social protection may be contributory without this being a factor of exclusion, because it is politically more viable than through taxation (whether IRPF or corporate taxes). What this government proposed for Uruguay was to make the public provider like FONASA: in other words, transform non-contributory into contributory, in which beneficiaries receiving a per-capita amount according to age and gender and being able to choose where they are attended. But the 4.5% or 6% of the wage that would be needed is paid by the State on their behalf. This has a number of risks that

would have to be avoided, including the promotion of informality; but it is the path chosen by Uruguay, in other words “corrected contributory”.

With regard to targeting, “targeting is an instrument whereas universality is an end; resources can be targeted to universalise rights”. This is expressed in the paper presented in panel I and on the distribution of expenditure. Social spending in Uruguay, which accounts for around 60% of total public expenditure, has 3-4% of the budget on targeted spending. The two problems that arise here are the following: firstly, universal suppliers that receive these funds do not adapt their strategies to provide access to the entire population. They receive the funds, and mostly absorb them in the wages of their workers — which is reasonable since these are very low in health and education — or continue to strengthen the central hospital structure, which in general does not reach the less privileged. The second problem is that there are insufficient resources for the health system (irrespective of one’s supplier) to have the same per-capita budget. Between potential income and real income, our countries continue to have a problem of failing to make good use of resources.

But even when proceeding along the same path of transformation in an entirely contributory system, a limit will be encountered: that of distribution outside the productive process. Accordingly, we are facing the need to generate reforms in terms of second-generation public goods that start to give another quality response, and at the same time, a productive matrix that generates income within the country and not outside it; and is not captured by the State but redistributed in the productive process itself and through work.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Summary curricula vitae of the presenters

Rodrigo Arim

Has a postgraduate degree in economics from Universidad Torcuato Di Tella and a first degree (*licenciatura*) from the University of the Republic of Uruguay. Currently Dean of the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences at the University of the Republic. Research fellow and teacher at the Institute of Economics. Has worked on economy, employment, poverty, inequality and social policy issues.

Alexandra N. Barrantes

International development professional with over 14 years' experience on social development and governance issues. Currently Social Protection Specialist at the Department of Economic and Social Development in the Organization of American States, where she coordinates the Inter-American Social Protection Network (RIPSO). In recent years has served as manager of the Inter-American Collaborative Networks Programme, under the Office of the Executive Secretary of the Executive Secretariat for Integrated Development (SEDI), coordinating and systemizing the work done by several international development collaborative networks of SEDI. Previously was actively involved in projects on universal legal identity and the strengthening of civil registries, inter-parliamentary cooperation; and has served in election monitoring and supervision teams in Latin America. Has a *licenciatura* degree in international relations from Universidad del Salvador de Argentina, and a Masters in International Development, from American University majoring in issues of poverty, inequality and economic growth.

Armando Barrientos

Professor and research director at the Brooks Institute of World Poverty Studies of the University of Manchester in the United Kingdom. Director of the International Research Initiative on Brazil and Africa (IRIBA) with Ed Amann. His research work focuses on the relations existing between social insurance and assistance programmes and labour markets in developing countries and, on public policies targeting poverty, vulnerability and ageing. His most recent books include: "Social Protection for the Poor and Poorest" edited with D. Hulme, Palgrave); "Just Give Money to the Poor" (2010, with J. Hanlon and D. Hulme, Kumarian Press); "Demographics, Employment and Old Age Security: Emerging Trends and Challenges in South Asia" (2010, edited with Moneer Alam, MacMillan), and "Social Assistance in Developing Countries" (2013, Cambridge University Press).

Simone Cecchini

Social Affairs Officer of the Development Division of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), headquartered in Santiago, Chile. His research focuses on social protection and poverty reduction programmes and policies, topics on which he has advised various governments in the region. His most recent publications are: "La ampliación de las transferencias monetarias y sus desafíos en Chile: el Ingreso Ético Familiar" (with Claudia Robles and Luis Hernán Vargas) and "Protección social inclusiva: una mirada integral, un enfoque de derechos" (with Rodrigo Martínez). He worked for several years in the Poverty Reduction Department of the World Bank (Poverty Group). Graduate in political sciences from the University of Florence, Italy, Mr Cecchini has an MA in international economics from George Washington University, Washington DC, and an MBA from the Catholic University of Chile.

Javier A. Curcio

First degree (*licenciatura*) in economics from the University of Buenos Aires, majoring in public policies monitoring and evaluation, the economics of education and fiscal policy. Currently working as Regular Associate Teaching Research Fellow at the Institutes of Sciences and the Conurbation of Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento, Regular Associate Professor of Public Finance on the UBA economics *licenciatura* programme, and teacher on Masters courses at UBA, FLACSO and UDESA and other programmes. Worked as a social investment specialist at UNICEF and is a consultant for international organizations such as ECLAC, UNAIDS, UNDP, UNESCO, the World Bank and the IDB. Was an adviser in the Finance Secretariat, in the Economic Policy Secretariat and at the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology of the Argentine Republic. Is the author of numerous publications on social policies, social investment, the economics of education and social protection and security.

Mariana Drago

Hold a *licenciatura* degree in Psychology with a Diploma in Social Rights, Public Policies and Management from the Henry Dunant foundation of Chile and a Diploma in Family and Marital Relationships from the Uruguayan Association for the Psychoanalysis of Relationships (AUPCV). Since 2005 has been working in public administration on issues relating to public-policy design. Currently working as Director of International Coordination at the Ministry of Social Development.

Fernando Filgueira

Holds a Ph.D. in Sociology from Northwestern University and *licenciatura* degree in Sociology from the Social Sciences Institute of the University of the Republic of Uruguay. Has published books and articles in academic journals specializing in development issues, social policies, social structure, poverty and inequality in Latin America. Was Assistant Representative at the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) in Uruguay and Social Affairs Officer at ECLAC in Chile. Has served as Director of the State Management and Evaluation Area (AGEV) in the Office of Planning and Budget of the Presidency of the Republic of Uruguay, Coordinator of the Education Statistics System in Uruguay (ANEP), and Academic Coordinator of the Research Programme on Social Exclusion, Poverty and Social Integration of the Catholic University of Uruguay (IPES). Has served as consultant to various international organizations and adviser to several governments in the region in the areas of social policies, evaluation and information systems. Holds a teaching position at the Social Sciences Faculty of the University of the Republic of Uruguay, and is senior Research Officer at CIPPEC Argentina.

Maddalena Honorati

Economist at the Social Protection and Labor Market Department of the World Bank, with which she has been associated since 2005. Holds a Masters degree in Economics from Universidad Pompeu Fabra in Spain and a PhD in Economics from Universitat de Bocconi in Italia. Before taking up her current position, she worked as a researcher at the World Bank Development Research Group on issues relating to the productivity of the firm, the determinants of informality, and the impact of regulation in the business climate on business performance. Recently, her research has focused on the design and evaluation of social protection networks and active labour-market policies in developing countries, and also on the measurement and performance of social protection systems. Has written numerous research papers on labour-market issues, including policies to promote skills, employability, and business development. Has also supported the implementation of social protection programmes and policies in developing countries such as Kenya and Ecuador.

Martín Hopenhayn

Philosopher with a Masters degree in Philosophy from Université Paris VIII, supervised by Gilles Deleuze. Has held teaching posts at the University of Chile and Universidad Diego Portales in Santiago. Joined ECLAC in 1989 as Social Affairs Officer in the Social Development Division, and in 2008 became Director of that Division. In ECLAC has worked on issues including the prevention of drug consumption, education and educational reforms, new forms of citizenship, the cultural dimensions of development, the social situation of youth, new forms of social exclusion, the sociocultural impact of globalisation in Latin America, and ethnicity and racial discrimination. Has participated actively in contributions made by ECLAC to diagnostic studies and proposals on social equity. Has published numerous works including: “Ni apocalípticos ni integrados. Aventuras de la modernidad en América Latina” (FCE, 1994), “Después del Nihilismo” (Andrés Bello, 1997) and “Repensar el trabajo. Historia, profusión y perspectivas de un concepto” (Norma, 2001).

Juan Pablo Labat

Holds a *Licenciatura* degree from the University of the Republic. Member of the monitoring team of the Evaluation and Monitoring Department. Was adviser to the Office of the Under-Secretary of MIDES for monitoring the PANES. Since 2009 has worked in the Programmes Monitoring Unit attached to MIDES Under-Secretariat with responsibility for the interdisciplinary team advising the Under-Secretary for the Monitoring and Implementation of Social Programmes. Currently serving as MIDES National Director of Evaluation and Monitoring

Rubén M. Lo Vuolo

Economist at Universidad Nacional del Litoral of Argentina and the University of Pittsburgh. Currently serving as Director-Research Fellow at the Interdisciplinary Centre for Public Policy Studies (CIEPP), Buenos Aires, Argentina, and President of the Argentine Citizen Income Network (Redaic). Is author of the following books: “Distribución y crecimiento. Una controversia persistente” (2009), “Estrategia económica para la Argentina. Propuestas” (2003) and “Alternativas. La economía como cuestión social” (2001). Is editor and joint author of numerous works, such as “Citizen’s Income and Welfare Regimes in Latin America. From Cash Transfers to Rights” (Editor), Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, “La credibilidad social de la política económica en América Latina” (2006); and “Falsas promesas. Sistema de previsión social y régimen de acumulación” (forthcoming). Has also published articles in books and specialized journals on issues relating to social policies, the labour market, economic theory and policy.

Has been Visiting Research Fellow at foreign universities and a consultant for various international organizations. Was a member of the Board of Directors of Banco Ciudad de Buenos Aires (2006- 2008).

Cristina Lustemberg

Paediatrician, with wide-ranging working experience of the management of public policies on early childhood. Was the Paediatrics Referral Point in the First-Tier Care Network (ASSE), and National Referral Point in the area of childhood and adolescence of the State Health Services Administration). Currently serving as National Coordinator of the *Uruguay Crece Contigo* programme - Office of Planning and Budget (OPP), Office of the President.

Rodrigo Martínez

Sociologist with a post-graduate degree in project evaluation from the University of Chile., Joined ECLAC in 1993 and currently works as Social Affairs Officer, in research and technical assistance activities, mainly focusing on social-policy management, social protection, hunger and malnutrition. His publications include: “Protección social inclusiva

en América Latina. Una mirada integral, un enfoque de derechos”; “Protección social y generación de empleo: análisis de experiencias derivadas de programas de transferencias con corresponsabilidad”; “El costo del hambre: análisis del impacto social y económico de la desnutrición infantil”; “Gasto social: modelo de medición y análisis para América Latina y el Caribe”; “Pobreza y Precariedad urbana en América Latina y el Caribe”; and “Manual de Formulación, Evaluación y Monitoreo de Programas y Proyectos Sociales”.

Carmen Midaglia

PhD in Political Science and Masters Degree in Sociology from Instituto de Pesquisas de Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ). Research officer and teacher in the area of state and public policies of the Institute of Political Science (ICP), Faculty of Social Sciences (FCS), University of the Republic of Uruguay. Level II of the National Researchers System (SNI). Specialist on policy and reform issues in the social area in the country and region, with various publications on that subject. Coordinator of academic research projects and consultant for both national and international organizations. Member of the CLACSO Regional Working Group on Poverty and Social Policies. Currently responsible for the management of the Political Science Institute of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of the Republic of Uruguay.

Andrés Mideros Mora

Economist at the Catholic University of Ecuador, with a Masters Degrees in Development Economics, from FLACSO, and in Public Policy from the University of Maastricht. Currently working as doctorate research fellow (PhD) at the University of Maastricht and in the United Nations University, UNU-MERIT, in the Netherlands, undertaking research on the effects and economic returns of non-contributory social protection. Specialist in quantitative methods for the analysis and evaluation of public policies. Ten years' experience as research officer and international consultant on development economics issues, public economics and political economy, with experience in poverty and inequality, social protection, microfinance, evaluation of the impact of the analysis of public policies. Has also held posts in the United Nations and in non-governmental organizations. Was National Technical and Planning Director of the Ecuadorian Municipalities Association, and since 2013 has served as an adviser, for the social development sector, to the National Planning and Development Secretary of the Republic of Ecuador.

Ernesto Murro

President of Banco de Previsión Social de Uruguay (BPS) - Social Security Institute, and of the Ibero-American Social Security Organization. Is a member of the Administrative Technical Committee of the Ibero-American Social Security Multilateral Agreement in conjunction with the Ministry of labour and Social Security of Uruguay, of the Uruguayan governmental delegation to the Permanent Commission of the Mercosur Multilateral Agreement on Social Security, of the International Social Security Association of the Working Group for Migrant Workers from Countries of the Community of Independent States (former USSR), of the inter-American Social Security Conference (CISS) and the Executive Committee of the Social Security Sector Commission. Has been government representative in the National Dialogue on Social Security in Uruguay since 2007. Professor Honoris Causa at Universidad INSALUD – Health, management and social protection of Buenos Aires, Argentine Republic.

Daniel Olesker

Economist. Masters degree in Economic Sciences from the University of Leuven, Belgium. Grade 5 Tenured Professor of the Department of Economics of the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences of the University of the Republic, with responsibility for the

Labour Economics and Economics of Uruguay programmes. Was a political prisoner between 1977 and 1980; and from the end of the dictatorship until 2005 his work was linked to labour union, cooperative and social organizations. Served as research director of the PIT - CNT Cuesta Duarte Institute. Worked as technical adviser to the Federation of Production and Employment Cooperatives of Uruguay, and economic adviser to the Uruguayan Federation of Mutual Assistance Housing Cooperatives. Is author of numerous publications, including “Crecimiento y Exclusión: nacimiento, consolidación y crisis del nuevo modelo de acumulación capitalista en Uruguay 1968 - 2000” (Trilce, 2001) and “Crecimiento e Inclusión: logros del gobierno frenteamplista” (Trilce, 2008). In 2005 became Director-General of the Ministry of Public Health, responsible for coordination of the process of constructing the health reform. Was Minister of Public Health in the period 1 March 2010 to 19 July 2011. Since then has been Minister of Social Development.

María Nieves Rico

Social anthropologist (UNR, Argentina), Masters degree in the Sociology of Development (ISDIBER, Spain), Masters degree in Local Administration and Urban Development (IAL, Spain), PhD candidate in Sociology (Universidad Complutense, Madrid). Since 2009 has been Principal Social Affairs Officer of the Social Development Division of ECLAC. Worked for 18 years in the Women and Development Unit of ECLAC. Has published articles and books and has advised governments in Latin America on gender inequality policies, violence and human rights, education, work and employment, families and care, and on the multidimensional measurement of child poverty with a rights focus. Coordinates the ECLAC-UNICEF social protection and childhood project and the Care Systems component of the project “Social covenant for more inclusive social protection” (ECLAC-GIZ).

Fabián Repetto

Argentinian. Specialist in the institutional dimension of social public policy. Research PhD in Social Sciences from FLACSO, Mexico, in association with Georgetown University in the United States. Masters Degree in Governments and Public Affairs from the same institution. Masters Degree in Public Administration from the University of Buenos Aires and *Licenciatura* Degree in Political Science from the same university. Posts held include Deputy Coordinator of the Information, Monitoring and Evaluation System of Social Programmes of the Ministry of Social Development and the Environment of Argentina; Academic Secretary of the Masters Programme in Administration and Public Policies of Universidad de San Andrés; Secretary of the Postgraduate Programme, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Buenos Aires; postgraduate teacher at various universities in Latin America; Director of *Revista Latinoamericana de Política Social*; Professor as the inter-American Institute for Social Development in Washington DC and Resident Coordinator of the National INDES Programme in Guatemala. Currently working as Director of the Social protection Programme of the Centre for the Implementation of Public Policies for Equity and Growth. Has been a consultant with organizations such as UNICEF, UNESCO, ECLAC, UNDP, IDB and the World Bank. Has published over 40 articles in specialised journals and books and is author of the book “Gestión Pública y desarrollo social en los noventa” and editor of the books “La gerencia social ante los nuevos retos del desarrollo social en América Latina y caminos por andar” and “La perspectiva social de América Latina, los desafíos del desarrollo en Guatemala”.

Andrés Scagliola

Political scientist at the University of the Republic with a postgraduate degree in Government, Administration and Public Policies from the Autonomous University of Barcelona. Responsible for the country reports on human rights between 2008 and 2010 to the Human Rights Council, of the PIDESC Committee and the Committee for the

Elimination of Racial Discrimination. National Director of Social Policies at the Ministry of Social Development in the period 2010-2015. Coordinator of the National Social Policies Council. Coordinator of the Working Group for a National Integrated Care System. Also works on public strategies for combating discrimination, and the design and implementation of affirmative actions for Afrodescendent populations, trans-persons (transgender, transsexual and transvestite) and persons with HIV.

Magdalena Sepúlveda Carmona

United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, and Associate Research Fellow at the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. Holds a PhD from University of Utrecht in Holland, a Masters Degree in Human Rights from the University of Essex in England, and a Postgraduate Diploma in Comparative Law from the Catholic University of Chile. Has worked as a research officer at the Dutch Human Rights Institute, as a lawyer at the Inter-American Court for Human Rights, and is co-director of the International Law and Human Rights Department of the United Nations-mandated University for Peace in San Jose, Costa Rica. Has also served as consultant to UNHCR and the Norwegian Council for Refugees in Colombia. More recently was Research Director at the International Council for the Study of Human Rights in Geneva, and Associate Research Officer at the Norwegian Centre for Human Rights.

Anne Margrethe Sønneland

Sociologist. From 2005 to the present has been Associate Professor at the Social Work Institute at Diakonhjemmet University College in Oslo, where she teaches sociology and social policies on the social work programme. Has published on a wide variety of issues such as social policies, the use of technology in university studies, and transitional justice. In addition, since 2010, has worked on a joint project with the University of Oslo on trials involving crimes against humanity in Argentina and Peru.

Solange Teixeira

Civil servant, with technical studies on education and training issues in the area of law, specializing in public policies and government management. Since 2003 has worked at the National Income and Citizenship Department (SENARC) of the Ministry of Social Development and Fight against Hunger (MDS), fulfilling the functions of Coordinator and Chief of Staff. Currently working as an adviser in the SENARC office. Started working in the social area in 2001 in the *Bolsa Escola* federal programme, from which she was invited to join the team responsible for the project to implement the Single Social Programmes Cadastre (CadÚnico), in the Special Social Assistance Department (SEAS) of the Ministry of Social Security.

Victoria Tenenbaum

Licenciatura Degree in Economics with a Masters in Applied Economics from the Autonomous University of Barcelona. Teaches microeconomics in the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, University of the Republic. Since 2006 has been working on issues relating to social policies. In 2007, worked in the social policies area of the Office of Planning and Budget, as coordinator of the technical team that created the social policies simulator. Currently serving in the Interdepartmental Coordination of the Ministry of Social Development.

Enrique Valencia Lomelí

Incumbent grade “C” research officer at the University of Guadalajara and a member of the national level III Researchers System. Teacher on the Masters and Doctorate programmes in Social Sciences at the University of Guadalajara and Invited Professor on the doctorate programme in Social Science Studies of ITESO, Guadalajara. Ph.D. in Economic Sciences

from Université Paris VII (1996). Coordinator of the CLACSO Poverty and Social Policies Group of (2010-2016). Has been a consultant to INDES-IDB, UNICEF, UNESCO and ECLAC, and civil society organizations (currently OXFAM). Has coordinated and published 15 books and over 60 articles in scientific books and journals on social policies and comparative studies of social and economic policy (Republic of Korea and Mexico, in particular). Recent publications include: “El Sistema de Protección Social en México a Inicio del Siglo XXI”, Santiago, Chile: ECLAC (2012), with Davis Foust and Darcy Tetreault; and coordinated with Carlos Fidel “(Des)encuentros entre reformas sociales, salud, pobreza y desigualdad en América Latina”, Buenos Aires: CLACSO (2013).

Fabio Veras Soares

Employee of IPEA in Brazil, but currently working as Coordinator and Research Officer at the International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth (previously the International Poverty Centre), a thematic centre of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). His main topic of research has been the comparative analysis of conditional cash transfer programmes and social protection systems in developing countries. Has also worked on the impact evaluation of conditional transfers and other social programmes in countries such as Brazil, Paraguay and Mozambique, and is currently studying the case of Yemen. Has published papers on impact evaluation in the *Journal of Development Effectiveness* and *Latin American Research Review*. Has been the author of books on the comparative analysis of conditional cash transfer programmes.

Andrea Vigorito

Research Officer and teacher at the Institute of Economics, Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, University of the Republic. Currently coordinates the Research Group on Inequality and Poverty. Has worked extensively on topics of poverty, inequality and social policies.



International Seminar
**PUBLIC POLICIES FOR EQUALITY:
 TOWARDS UNIVERSAL SOCIAL PROTECTION SYSTEMS**

**Executive Tower of the Office of the President of the Republic, Montevideo, Uruguay
 4 and 5 December 2013**

Preliminary Programme

Day 1 (4 December)

8.30 - 9.00 Registration of participants

9.00 -9.30 **INAUGURATION**

Daniel Olesker, Minister of Social Development, Uruguay

Martín Hoppenhayn, Director, Social Development Division, ECLAC

Thorstein Wangen, Consul, Royal Norwegian Embassy

Panel I

UNIVERSAL SOCIAL PROTECTION FROM AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Moderator: *Simone Cecchini*, Social Development Division, ECLAC

9.30- 10.00 The social protection system in Uruguay

Daniel Olesker, Minister of Social Development, Uruguay

10.00-10.30 The social protection system in Norway

Anne Margrethe Sønneland, University of Oslo

10.30-10.50 Comments

Armando Barrientos, University of Manchester

10.50-11.10 Coffee break

Panel II

UNIVERSAL SOCIAL PROTECTION FROM AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Moderator: *Victoria Tenenbaum*, Ministry of Social Development, Uruguay

11.10-11.40 From *Bolsa Família* to *Brasil sem Miséria*

Solange Teixeira, Ministry of Social Development, Brazil

11.40-12.10 Social protection and poverty eradication in Ecuador

Andrés Iván Mideros, SENPLADES, Ecuador

12.10-12.30 Comments

Enrique Valencia Lomeli, University of Guadalajara

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12.30-13.00 Questions and discussion
13.00-14.30 Lunch

Panel III

REGIONAL OVERVIEW AND RECENT INNOVATIONS IN SOCIAL PROTECTION

Moderator and commentator: *Rodrigo Arim*, Dean of the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, University of the Republic, Uruguay.

14.30-14.50 Cross inequalities: challenges for social protection
Martin Hopenhayn, Director, Social Development Division, ECLAC

14.15-15.10 Where are conditional cash transfer programmes headed?
Felipe Veras Soares, International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth (IPC-IG), UNDP

15.10-15.30 Main results of the impact assessment of the Family Allowances-Equity Plan
Andrea Vigorito, Institute of Economics, Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, University of the Republic, Uruguay

15.30-16.00 Comments, questions and discussion

16.00-16.20 Coffee break

Panel IV

SOLIDARITY BASE FINANCING OF SOCIAL PROTECTION

Moderator and commentator: *Rodrigo Martínez*, Social Development Division, ECLAC

16.20-16.40 A technical and political approach to a fiscal system based on social solidarity in the region
Fernando Filgueira

16.14-17.00 Problems of financing social protection in economies with high levels of informality
Javier Curcio, Faculty of Economic Sciences, University of Buenos Aires

17.00-17.20 Solidarity-based financing of social protection
Ernesto Murro, President of the Board of Directors, Banco de Previsión Social, Uruguay

17.20-18.00 Comments, questions and discussion

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Day II (5 December)

Panel V

MEASURING SOCIAL PROTECTION

Moderator and commentator: *Alexandra Barrantes*, Organization of American States (OAS)

9.00-9.20 Measuring expenditure on social protection in Latin America
Rodrigo Martínez, Social Affairs Officer, Social Development Division, ECLAC

9.20-9.40 The management and monitoring of social protection worldwide
Maddalena Honorati, World Bank

9.40-10.00 Information systems for social protection: the Uruguayan case
Juan Pablo Labat, Director of Evaluation and Monitoring, MIDES, Uruguay

10.00-10.30 Comments, questions and discussion

10.30-10.50 Coffee break

Panel VI

THE COMPREHENSIVE NATURE OF SOCIAL PROTECTION: ARTICULATION OF ITS COMPONENTS AND INTERAGENCY COORDINATION

Moderator and commentator: *Juan Pablo Labat*, Director of Evaluation and Monitoring, MIDES, Uruguay

10.15-11.10 Inclusive social protection systems
Simone Cecchini, Social Affairs Officer, Social Development Division, ECLAC

11.10-11.30 The comprehensiveness of social protection in Latin America, how to move beyond rhetoric?
Fabián Repetto, CIPPEC, Argentina

11.30-11.50 Interagency programmes: *Jóvenes en Red* and *Cercanías*
Mariana Drago, Director of Interdepartmental Coordination, MIDES, Uruguay

11.15-12.30 Comments, questions and discussion

12.30-14.00 Lunch

Panel VII

SOCIAL PROTECTION AND THE RIGHTS APPROACH IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Moderator and commentator: *Ruben Lo Vuolo*, CIEPP, Argentina

14.00-14.20 The rights approach in social protection in Latin America
Magdalena Sepúlveda, United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights

14.20-14.40 Social protection and childhood rights
Nieves Rico, Social Affairs Officer, Social Development Division, ECLAC



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14.40-15.00 Social protection in Uruguay; universal policies, targeted programmes and affirmative actions
Andrés Scagliolo, Director of Social Policies, MIDES, Uruguay

15.00-15.20 Towards an integrated childhood protection system
Cristina Luestemberg, Coordinator of *Uruguay Crece Contigo*, Programme of the Planning and Budget Office, Office of the President of Uruguay

15.20-15.50 Comments, questions and discussion

15.15-16.10 Coffee break

Closing panel

16.10-17.30 Universal social protection: challenges and prospects

Moderator: *Simone Cecchini*, Social Affairs Officer, Social Development Division, ECLAC

- *Fernando Filgueira*, ECLAC consultant
- *Armando Barrientos*, University of Manchester, United Kingdom
- *Carmen Midaglia*, University of the Republic, Uruguay
- *Enrique, Valencia Lomeli*, University of Guadalajara, Mexico
- *Rubén Lo Vuolo*, CIEPP, Argentina
- *Daniel Olesker*, Minister of Social Development, Uruguay

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