

# **World-Regional Social Policy and Global Governance**

New research and policy agendas in  
Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America

*Edited by*

**Bob Deacon, Maria Cristina Macovei,  
Luk Van Langenhove and  
Nicola Yeates**



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# Foreword

This timely and remarkable book provides an excellent example of how social scientists and policy-makers can collaborate to push back the frontiers of knowledge and set new policy agendas. As such, it is a perfect illustration of what UNESCO aims to achieve through its programme Management of Social Transformations (MOST), and I am glad to say that MOST played a significant role in making this book possible.

In February 2006 UNESCO organized the Buenos Aires International Forum on the Social Science – Policy Nexus (IFSP) in Argentina and Uruguay, with the explicit purpose of creating an innovative space for dialogue between social scientists and actors from the worlds of both policy-making and civil society. The IFSP was attended by some 2,000 participants from eighty countries, including thirteen social development and education ministers and six secretaries general from regional organizations. Among the key issues discussed were both social policies and regional integration.

The United Nations University, through its programme on Comparative Regional Integration Studies (UNU-CRIS), took the initiative to organize at the IFSP in Montevideo a high-level symposium on the Social Dimensions of Regional Integration, in collaboration with UNESCO, MERCOSUR, GASPP and the Open University Centre for Citizenship, Identities and Governance. It was on that occasion that some of the contributors to this book had their first scientific discussions and the idea of a volume on regional integration and social policy emerged.

The IFSP also adopted the Buenos Aires Declaration, calling for a concerted, enduring attempt to improve linkages between policy-makers and social scientists. Part of this declaration focused upon the social dimensions of regional integration and called upon regional organizations, in association with social scientists and civil society, to extend research in this area. The UN was also called upon to facilitate inter-regional dialogue on regional social policies.

The United Nations University took this call seriously and, in partnership with policy scholars from all over the world, UNU-CRIS further developed its research and training activities on the social dimensions of regional integration.

In March 2007 UNU-CRIS, together with the Open University's CCIG and GASPP, organized a two-day workshop in Bruges that further developed the

research and debates of the Montevideo meetings. The result is the present book, which investigates the prospects for the development of world-regional social policies as integral elements of an effective system of global governance.

Meanwhile, MOST's regional fora of ministers in charge of social development have been further developed by UNESCO. Fourteen such fora have been organized in Latin America, South Asia and the Arab states, and in the context of African regional integration organizations such as ECOWAS, the SADC and the EAC. I am convinced that the present book will prove to be a valuable input to the next fora of ministers and will help to shape debates on diverse topics such as the importance of solidarity in achieving social development, the need for corporate social responsibility for social development and effective regional migration policies.

But the research-policy linkage is a two-way process. Therefore I also hope that the fora outcomes will fit into research programming so that the social dimensions of regional integration as a field of intellectual and policy study can be further developed.

Pierre Sané  
Assistant Director-General for Social and Human Sciences  
UNESCO

# Acknowledgements

This volume was conceived after we had been invited by Pierre Sané of UNESCO to organize in February 2004 a High-Level Symposium on the Social Dimension of Regionalism in Uruguay within the context of its International Social Sciences – Policy Nexus taking place in Buenos Aires. Most of the authors of these chapters were involved in that Symposium. Subsequently the United Nations University programme for Comparative Regional Integration Studies (UNU-CRIS) agreed to host a workshop in Bruges on 23–25 May 2007 on this theme. This was jointly organized by UNU-CRIS, the UK Open University and the Globalism and Social Policy Programme (GASPP). We are grateful to the UK British Academy for funding this conference. At that workshop first drafts of the chapters of this volume were tabled. We are grateful for the constructive comments provided at that event by Denys Correll (ICSW), Isabel Ortiz (UNDESA), Eric Maertens (ILO), Timo Voipio (Finnish government), Rudi DelaRue (European Commission) and others. Subsequently UNU-CRIS worked with the ILO International Training Centre on a project to strengthen the social dimension of the SADC and ECOWAS. This experience informed Chapter 8 of this volume. We therefore acknowledge the valuable contributions of the spokespersons of many organizations within the SADC and ECOWAS regions. The authors of the other regional chapters owe a debt of gratitude to their numerous informants too.

While each of the editors wishes to thank his/her own institution for providing some resources and time to work on this volume, our main debt of gratitude must be to the staff of UNU-CRIS who hosted editorial meetings and, more importantly, provided technical assistance in the later stages of the production process. We owe a special thank you to Liesbeth Martens for formatting all the chapters and preparing the merged bibliography. Thanks also to the support and patience of our publishers.

Permission to reproduce Tables 6.2–6.6, originally published in Manuel Riesco, *Latin America, a New Developmental Welfare State Model in the Making*, 2007, Palgrave Macmillan/UNRISD, has been granted by Palgrave Macmillan.

# Abbreviations

ABAC	ASEAN Business Advisory Council
ACP	Africa, Caribbean and Pacific countries
ACSC	ASEAN Civil Society Conference
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADF	ASEAN Development Fund
AEC	ASEAN Economic Community
AEPF	Asia Europe People's Forum
AfDB	African Development Bank
AFP	Administradoras de Fondos de Pensiones
AFSR	ASEAN's Food Security Reserve
AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Area
AGE	European Older People's Platform
AIDS	acquired immune deficiency syndrome
AIPO	ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Organization
ALAC	Andean Labour Advisory Council
ALADI	Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración (Latin American Integration Association)
ALALC	Asociación Latinoamericana de Libre Comercio (Latin American Free Trade Association)
ALBA	Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América (Bolivarian Alternatives for the Americas)
ALIDES	Alianza para el Desarrollo Ostensible de Centroamérica (Alliance for the Sustainable Development of Central America)
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
ANSA	Alternatives to Neo-Liberalism in Southern Africa
APA	ASEAN People's Assembly
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARIA	Assessing Regional Integration in Africa
ASC	ASEAN Security Community
ASCC	ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
ASEAN-ISIS	ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies
ASEAN5	Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand

ASEAN+3	ASEAN + China, Japan and South Korea
ASEM	Asia–Europe Meeting
ATN	Africa Trade Network
AU	African Union
AUPF	ASEAN–UNDP Partnership Facility
BBVA	Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria
BCLMV	Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar and Vietnam
BID	Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo (Inter-American Development Bank)
BIT	bilateral investment treaties
BLA	bilateral labour agreement
BUSA	Business Unity of South Africa
BWI	Bretton Woods institutions
CACM	Central American Common Market
CAN	Comunidad Andina de Naciones (Andean Community)
CANTA	Caribbean Association of National Training Agencies
CAREC	Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CARIFORUM	Caribbean Forum of African, Caribbean and Pacific States
CCEA	Consejo Consultivo Empresarial Andino (Andean Business Advisory Council)
CCIG	Centre for Citizenship, Identities and Governance
CCSCS	Coordination of Trade Unions of the Southern Cone
CECODHAS	Comité Européen de Coordination de l’Habitat Social (European Liaison Committee for Social Housing)
CECOP	European Confederation of Workers Cooperatives, Social Cooperatives and Participative Enterprises
CEEAC	Communauté Economique des Etats de l’Afrique Centrale (Economic Community of Central Africa States)
CELADE	Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía (Latin American Demographic Center)
CEMAC	Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l’Afrique Centrale (Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa)
CENSAD	Community of Sahel—Saharan States
CET	Common External Tariff
CIAPPEP	Curso Intensivo de Evaluación Económica de Proyectos Públicos (Intensive Course for Economic Evaluation of Public Projects)
CLAC	Cumbre de Latinoamerica y el Caribe
CLMV	Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam
CLS	core labour standards
CMC	Council of the Common Market
COHSOD	Council for Human and Social Development
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa



CSME	Caribbean Community Single Market and Economy
CSO	civil society organization
DfID	Department for International Development (UK)
DPA	Development Partnership Agreement
EAC	East African Community
EAERR	East Asian Emergency Rice Reserve
EAP	economically active population
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa (United Nations)
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECDPM	European Centre for Development Policy Management
ECE	Economic Commission for Europe (United Nations)
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (United Nations)
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council (United Nations)
ECOSOCC	Economic, Social and Cultural Council
ECOTECH	economic and technical cooperation
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDF	European Disability Forum
EEC	European Economic Community
EECCA	Countries of Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia
EERC	Economic Education and Research Consortium
EES	European Employment Strategy
EESC	European Economic and Social Committee
EID	emerging infectious diseases
EJN	Economic Justice Network
EMRO	Eastern Mediterranean Region
ENAR	European Network Against Racism
ENQA	European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education
EP	European Parliament
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EPG	Eminent Persons Group
ERIO	European Roma Information Office
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (United Nations)
ESCWA	Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (United Nations)
ESF	European Social Fund
ETUC	European Trade Union Confederation
EU	European Union
EU-LAC	European Union and the Latin America and the Caribbean countries
EWL	European Women's Lobby
FARE	Forum for Associations Recognized by ECOWAS

FCES	Foro Consultivo Económico y Social del Mercosur (Economic and Social Consultation Forum)
FDI	foreign direct investment
FEALAC	Forum for East Asia Latin America Cooperation
FEFAF	European Federation of Unpaid Parents and Carers at Home
FLS	frontline states
FOCEM	Fund for Structural Convergence of MERCOSUR
FTA	free trade agreement
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas
GAFTA	Greater Arab Free Trade Area
GASPP	Globalism and Social Policy Programme
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GDP	gross domestic product
GENTA	Gender and Trade Network
GISM	Grupo para la Creación del Instituto Social
GMS	Greater Mekong Sub-region
GNP	gross national product
GRULAC	Group of Latin America and Caribbean Countries
GSP	Generalized System of Preferences
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
GURN	Global Union Research Network
HDI	human development index
HIV/AIDS	human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immune deficiency syndrome
HLP	High-Level Panel
HLTF	High-Level Task Force
HRD	Human Resources Development
HRDWG	Human Resources Development Working Group
HSA	Hemispheric Social Alliance
IADB	Inter-American Development Bank
IAI	Initiative for ASEAN Integration
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ICRY	Ibero-American Convention on the Rights of Youth
ICSW	International Council on Social Welfare
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority for Development
IILS	International Institute of Labour Studies
ILGA-Europe	European Region of the International Lesbian and Gay Association
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INDES	Inter-American Institute for Social Development
IOC	Indian Ocean Commission
IPA	Integrated Programme of Action
IsDB	Islamic Development Bank

ISFD	Islamic Solidarity Fund for Development
ISI	import-substitution industrialization
ITC	International Training Centre of the ILO
LA	Latin America
LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean
LAS	League of Arab States
LDCs	least developed countries
LSPN	Labour and Social Protection Network
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MERCOSUR	Common Market of the South
MEXA	Movimiento Estudiantil Xicano de Aztlan
MFN	Most Favoured Nation
MOST	Management of Social Transformations (UNESCO)
MRA	Mutual Recognition Arrangement
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NAWO	National Alliance of Women's Organizations
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	non-governmental organization
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODA	overseas development assistance
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OECS	Organization of Eastern Caribbean States
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
OMC	Open Method of Coordination
PAHO	Pan American Health Organization
PIFS	Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat
PPP	purchasing power parity
PRODIAF	Promotion of Social Dialogue in Francophone Africa
PRSPs	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
PT	Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers' Party)
PTA	Preferential Trade Agreement
PUC	Pontificia Universidad Católica (Catholic University of Chile)
PYME	pequeña y mediana empresas (small and medium enterprises)
RCI	regional cooperation and integration
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
RI	regional integration
RIACES	Red Iberoamericana para la Acreditación de la Calidad de la Educación Superior
RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
ROSA	Regional Office for South Asia (UNICEF)
RPGs	regional public goods
RTA	Regional Trade Agreement
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SACN	South American Community of Nations

SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SAFA	South Asian Federation of Accountants
SAFTA	South Asian Free Trade Area
SAPA	Solidarity for Asian Peoples' Advocacy
SAPSN	Southern African Peoples' Solidarity Network
SARS	Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome
SASEC	South Asia Subregional Economic Cooperation
SATUCC	Southern Africa Trade Union Coordination Council
SC	Security Council (United Nations)
SCCI	SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry
SCE	Steering Committee on Economical and Technical Cooperation
SDF	SAARC Development Fund
SDGs	SAARC Development Goals
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
SEG	Southern African Employers Group
SELA	Sistema Económico Latinoamericano y del Caribe (Latin American Economic System)
SFSR	SAARC's Food Security Reserve
SHSS	Social and Human Sciences Sector
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SIPO	Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ
SPA	SADC Programme of Action
SPARC	Support to Poverty Assessment and Reduction in the Caribbean
SPC	Secretariat of the Pacific Community
SPF	Social Policy Framework for Africa
SRO	Sub-regional Programme Office
SSD	Social Development Division
TB	tuberculosis
TCP	Tratado Comercio de los Pueblos (Trade Treaty of the People)
TLS	Trade Liberalization Scheme
TNC	trans-national corporation
TNI	Transnational Institute
UDEAC	Union Douanière et Economique de l'Afrique Centrale (Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa)
UEMOA	Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine (West African Economic and Monetary Union)
UN	United Nations
UNASUR	Union of South American Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICE	Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNILA	Universidade Federal da Integração Latino-Americana (Federal University of Latin-American Integration)
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
UNU-CRIS	United Nations University – Comparative Regional Integration Studies
US	United States
VAP	Vientiane Action Programme
WB	World Bank
WCSDG	World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization
WG-ASEAN	Working Group on ASEAN
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

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# Introduction

*Nicola Yeates, Bob Deacon, Luk Van Langenhove  
and Maria Cristina Macovei*

## Aims and purposes of the volume

This volume explores the case and the prospects for the development of world-regional social policies as integral elements of a pluralistic, equitable and effective system of global governance. Combining the perspectives and collective expertise of a team of international scholars and activists, we bring together in one place for the first time: (i) the theoretical and policy cases for a focus on regionalism and social policy; (ii) a mapping and analysis of social policy dimensions of regional integration processes and formations in four continents; (iii) an assessment of the regional dimensions of global agencies, in particular of the United Nations (UN) system, including the approach to regional social policy of the UN regional economic commissions and development banks; and (iv) an articulation of a multi-levelled conceptualization of global social governance within which regional associations of countries play a significant part.

For the purpose of clarity, it is worth specifying at this early stage what we mean by the terms region, regionalism and regionalization. This volume is very specifically concerned with trans-national or cross-border regional formations. Our use of the term world-regionalism, as in the title of the book and elsewhere, is consciously used to clearly distinguish our approach from sub-national regionalisms (as in cities, municipalities, provinces, etc.), which our book neither addresses nor is concerned with. In regional integration studies, a 'region' can be defined as any geographical area that is not a state but in which there are extant statehood properties. So regions are not states, but they look to some extent 'as if' they were. Regions can be found at all territorial levels. There are regions within countries, so-called sub-national regions. There are cross-border regions that stretch over different countries, and there are regions that are made up of different countries, namely supra-national regions. Regionalism is a 'state-led or states-led project designed to reorganize a particular regional space along defined economic and political lines' (Gamble and Payne 1996: 2). Regionalism is thus often associated with state strategies but it may also encompass non-state actors acting on a regional scale to the extent that they formulate clear organizational structures. Regionalization, on the other hand, is defined as the *outcome* of state and non-state strategies to lock in regional divisions of labour, trade and production (Hout 1996).



## Contexts

Three strands of scholarly study and political development within the past decade gave rise to the work that forms the basis of this volume. One is the perceived negative impact of neo-liberal globalization upon national social policy. Neo-liberal globalization has generated a vigorous debate amongst scholars, policy-makers and activists about how to preserve existing, and develop new, social policies to provide for the social needs of populations. Much of this debate focused on identifying appropriate national-level social policy responses and strategies in the context of increasing the international mobility of people, finance and ideas and increasing global production and delivery of goods and services. A major concern is the negative consequences of ‘free trade’ and international competition on the funding and provision of public social provision as well as on access to public services by citizens and residents. Increasingly, attention is turning to address the kinds of policies necessary to achieve socially equitable development under contemporary conditions of globalization – a socially just globalization (Yeates 2001). One response to the perceived threat to public social provision at the national level has been to argue for more coherent cooperation and coordination at the world-regional level.

A second response concerns the need for – but the difficulty of – securing reforms to the institutions of global social governance. Formidable obstacles to enhanced *global* redistribution, regulation and social rights through a strengthened UN-based global social governance system are involved. Many governments and non-governmental bodies in the Global North and Global South alike are unsure about the appropriateness of a Northern-driven reformed globalization imposing ‘inappropriate’ global social and labour standards, while many actors in the South are reluctant to buy into even the more progressive forms of conditionality. This is where the construction and strengthening of regional organizations of countries enter the picture. Rather than seeking to develop a case for a global social policy of redistribution, regulation and rights that would also imply a strengthening of Northern-based institutions, it is now being argued that the focus should perhaps be on building several *regional social policies* of redistribution, regulation and rights. Equally, rather than seek to win the World Bank (WB) over to a European perspective on social policy, the point should be to forge a policy space where Southern governments and civil society can construct their own policy choices. Reforming global social governance should perhaps imply building a pluralistic federation of world regions each with competence in its own location.

The third strand is the increasing salience of the supra-national regional level of governance in handling cross-border issues. Regionalism can prove to be an important tool in managing globalization in the interests of social protection and, thus, an important level of governance that complements states and international organizations. Regionalism facilitates the reaching of inter-state agreements as it entails more proximity, both geographically and culturally. Regional identity can play a major role in fostering good cooperation among states, even though sometimes regionalization processes themselves help forge a common identity.