

Towards and Beyond A Progressive Global
Social Policy
an intellectual, political and personal journey

MCSOG SEMINAR SERIES

Maastricht

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Political and Intellectual Turning Points and what got written.

1956-1983 (Discovering and Doubting Marxism)

- 1956. Daily Mirror Front Page. Hungarian Uprising. Russian Tanks on street. Dad?
- 1966. Taught by Titmuss. Commitment to Welfare. Founding of SPA. Fabianism.
- 1968. Rediscovery of Marxism. Member of SWP.
- 1974. Founded *Critical Social Policy*
- 1976. Met Zsuzsa Ferge after noticing *Societal Social Policy*.
- 1983. Deacon, B *Social Policy and Socialism*.
"Actually Existing state socialism found wanting in terms of socialist relations of welfare"

CONTINUED 1989-2000

(Arguing for Global Social Democracy)

- 1989. Collapse of Communist Project.
- 1992. Deacon, B *The New Eastern Europe*. "Future for socialist values if they have any lies in social democracy struggled for at a global level"
- Encounters with Holzmann: the international organisation contest for the future of post-communism.
- 1997. Deacon, B *Global Social Policy: International Organisations and the Future of Welfare*. 2000. Founded *Global Social Policy*.

CONTINUED 2000-2008

(Discovering the Voice of the Global South)

- 2000. GASPP New Delhi Seminar. "But Bob: The South is the New Left" (Focusweb.org)/
- 2000. Geneva: No global social policy principles.
- 2001? Finnish article. Deacon, B (2000) "*Why the Global South Must Take the Lead?*"
- 2004? Deacon, B. "*The Social Dimension of Regionalism as an Alternative to Neo-liberal Globalisation?*" (GASPP occ. paper)
- 2006. At UNRISD "Bob, Speak with more humility" (Jomo JK)
- 2007. Deacon, B. *Global Social Policy and Governance*
- 2009. Deacon, B. *Globalisation, Regional Integration and Social Policy*

Useful Analytical Frameworks

- Complex Multilateralism. (O'Brien)
- States-IOs-Epistemic Communities (Boas and McNeill)
- Global Policy Advocacy Coalitions (Orenstein)
- KNETS: global knowledge networks (Stone)
- Politics of Scale/translators in spaces (Stubbs)
- Globalising Social Structure (Cohen, Gould)

Also 200-2008: ATTEMPTING TO NETWORK NORTH AND SOUTH

- Arusha Declaration
www.worldbank.org Search Arusha Declaration
- Bellagio Conferences
Search Google (not ILO) for InFocus Work Programme
on Socio-Economic Security
- Livingstone Declaration
- www.helpage.org Search Livingstone Declaration
- Kellokoski Consensus
www.stakes.fi/social-policies-for-development
- JO'Burg Declaration on Regional Social Policy
www.cris.unu.edu

International Organisation and National Social Policy

World Bank (IBRD and IDA) Residual becoming universal?

World Bank (IFC) Private Health and Education

IMF Residual

WTO Markets in Private Welfare

ILO Bismarkian becoming universal

UNICEF, UNESCO, WHO Universal public services

OECD Emphasise on value of public services within DELSA .

UNDESA. Comprehensive and universal

UNDP Not clearly explicated

Contested Supranational Social Policy

- Redistribution: permissive “global” taxes
- Regulation: Voluntary codes
- Rights: No individual claims
- Global Social Democracy versus Global Neo-liberalism versus Southern De-globalisation
- Stalled One UN Reform?
- Regional Social Policy Alternative?

Some Analytical Conclusions

- Not social policy diffusion but policy contestation
- Trans-national social policy spaces occupied by fluid networks and alliances
- Fragility of cross border global solidarities and social contracts
- Global middle class and global private welfare (undermining national social contracts)
- BUT Southern reclaiming of national and possibly regional social policy spaces (China role?)

2008: Rounding Off the Thesis

- The World Bank's 1990s attack on welfare states and its promulgation of a safety net approach to poverty alleviation gave rise to the MDGs which were themselves a retreat from the UN Copenhagen commitments.
- Subsequently a global policy advocacy coalition working through the network of social development advisors to donor countries, the informal knowledge network of social protection specialists in ILO, Help Aged International, UNDESA, UNRISD and individuals associated with the Social Development grouping in the World Bank have succeeded in shifting the discourse back to one in which the idea of universal social security and social protection is reclaimed. This coalition has been paralleled by the EU and ILO seeking to establish the goal of decent work as an MDG target.

Thesis Continued

- However this coalition of some Northern donors and some Northern based global actors is now faced by new players on the international stage who have not been party to this coalition building.
- The question becomes what of its sustainability in the light of the new global geopolitics.
- A “retreat” to a Regional Social Policy approach to supranational social policy making might be called for.

TO BE CONTINUED: 2008-

Leaving the stage or reverting to values?

Responding to the challenge to and limits of mainstream global social policy studies

- "The ILO is a bearer and propagandist of specifically western norms and ideals of social policy design (Rieger 2003 Limits to Globalization)
- "A universalistic language of global social policy reflects the political and cultural mono-centrism of the Global North" (Lendvai and Stubbs 2007)
- Seen through the eyes of post-colonial studies mainstream GSP "displaces" (through universalising and silencing the local), "disciplines" (through claims to the knowledge) and "depoliticises" (through technical projects) (ibid)
- Back to regional relativism, or forward with scientific enquiry (a realist ontology) combined with a defence of norms. (TIMUSS goes global?)

SOURCES.

- Yeates, N. Deacon, B. (2006) Globalism, Regionalism and Social Policy: framing the debate. UNU-CRIS Occasional Papers 0-2006/6
- Deacon, B (2007) Global Social Policy and Governance, SAGE,
- Deacon, B. Ortiz, I. Zelenev, S. (2007) Regional Social Policy, UN DESA Working Paper No 37, ST/ESA/2007/DWP/37
- Deacon, B. and Stubbs, P. (eds) (2007) Social Policy and International Interventions in South East Europe, Edward Elgar.
- Deacon, B, Van Langenhove L, Yeates, N. (in preparation) Global Governance, Regional Integration and Social Policy, Routledge.
- Cohen, S. (2004) Searching for a different future: the rise of the global middle class. Durham, NC, Duke University Press
- Gould, J. (2005) The New Conditionality: The politics of poverty reduction strategies, London, Zed Press
- Lendvai, N. and Stubbs, P. (2007) "Post-Colonial Dialogue or His Master's Voice: Translating the Periphery in 'GSP' Studies" RC19 Florence 6-8 September
- Ortiz, I (2007) Social Policy Guidance Notes: New York, UNDESA
- Reiger E, Liebfried, S (?) Limits of Globalization.