



**UNRISD**  
United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

I N T E R N A T I O N A L C O N F E R E N C E

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# Overcoming Inequalities in a Fractured World: **BETWEEN ELITE POWER AND SOCIAL MOBILIZATION**

GENEVA  
7-9 NOVEMBER 2018

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# UNRISD

United Nations Research Institute for Social Development



## What the conference is about

Inequalities are one of today's greatest challenges, obstructing poverty reduction and sustainable development. Such disparities are catalysed by elite capture of economic and political power, a reinforcing process that compounds inequality, which—in its various dimensions—undermines social, environmental and economic sustainability, and fuels poverty, insecurity, crime and xenophobia.

As the power of elites grows and societal gaps widen, institutions representing the public good and universal values are increasingly disempowered or co-opted, and visions of social justice and equity side-lined. As a result, society is fracturing in ways that are becoming more and more tangible, with the growing divide between the privileged and the rest dramatically rearranging both macro structures and local lifeworlds.

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development seeks to overcome such disparities, “leaving no one behind”. But how can this ambitious vision be achieved in the current climate, in which those in power act to protect the status quo from which they benefit? How can we build progressive alliances to drive the political and policy changes needed for an equitable, inclusive 21<sup>st</sup> century eco-social compact?

This conference is organized with support from UNRISD's institutional funding partners: Sweden, Switzerland and Finland. The Institute also gratefully acknowledges the support of the the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and The International Geneva Welcome Centre.



**WEDNESDAY 7**

**THURSDAY 8**

**FRIDAY 9**

**SCHEDULE OVERVIEW**



	9.00-9.30 OPENING SESSION  Room XXIII		9.00-10.00 KEYNOTE ADDRESS <b>Oneness vs. The 1%</b> <b>VANDANA SHIVA</b>  Room XVIII	
	10.00-11.45 SESSION 1 <b>Inequality and Institutions: Political Barriers to Transformative Change</b>  Room XVIII		10.00-10.30 <b>COFFEE BREAK</b>	
	11.45-12.00 <b>COFFEE BREAK</b>		10.30-12.15 SESSION 4A <b>Cities for Whom? Causes and Consequences of Urban Socio-Spatial Inequalities</b>  Room XXVII	10.30-12.15 SESSION 4B <b>Between Climate Justice and Social Exclusion: Towards an Eco-Social Approach</b>  Room XVIII
	12.00-13.00 KEYNOTE ADDRESS <b>Global and National Inequalities: A Worried Look into the Future</b> <b>FRANÇOIS BOURGUIGNON</b>  Room XVIII		12.15-13.30 <b>LUNCH</b>	
	13.00-14.00 <b>LUNCH</b>		14.00-15.45 SESSION 2A <b>Networks of Power in a Fractured World: The Role and Influence of Elites</b>  Room XXVII	14.00-15.45 SESSION 2B <b>The Role of Institutions in Perpetuating or Curbing Inequalities</b>  Room XVIII
	14.00-15.45 SESSION 2A <b>Networks of Power in a Fractured World: The Role and Influence of Elites</b>  Room XXVII	14.00-15.45 SESSION 2B <b>The Role of Institutions in Perpetuating or Curbing Inequalities</b>  Room XVIII	13.30-15.15 SESSION 5A <b>Towards Transformative Public Policy: Undermining Elite Power through Local Collaboration and Social Mobilization</b>  Room XXVII	13.30-15.15 SESSION 5B <b>Actors, Alliances and Strategies for a New Social Compact</b>  Room XVIII
	15.45-16.00 <b>BREAK</b>		15.15-15.45 <b>BREAK</b>	
	18.30-20.00 SPECIAL SESSION / ROUNDTABLE <b>Engines of Inequality? Elites, Politics and Power</b>  UNIGE MR 280		16.00-17.45 SESSION 3A <b>Elite Ideology and Perceptions of Inequality: Implications for Redistribution and Social Cohesion</b>  Room XXVII	16.00-17.45 SESSION 3B <b>Shifting Class Structures and Identities in the Age of Neoliberalism</b>  Room XVIII
			15.45-17.15 SPECIAL SESSION / UN AND CIVIL SOCIETY ROUNDTABLE <b>The Politics of Transformative Change</b>  Room XVIII	
			17.15-17.30 CLOSING SESSION  Room XVIII	

# Special Roundtable



## Engines of Inequality? Elites, Politics and Power

The roundtable will bring together thought leaders, influencers and advocates for change to discuss the growing influence of elite power and the deepening of global inequalities, and what can be done to counteract these trends. Key questions are: How did we arrive at this moment in which the richest 1% of the population holds half of the world's wealth? What kinds of fractures has this extreme concentration of wealth wrought, be they economic, political, cultural, social, spatial, or environmental? And what space is there for progressive change in a context where those in power work to preserve the systems from which they benefit?

7 NOV  
18.30

AUDITORIUM W. YUNG  
ROOM MR 280  
UNIMAIL  
40 PONT D'ARVE

INTERPRETATION  
WILL BE PROVIDED  
ENGLISH < > FRENCH

### SPEAKERS

#### NAILA KABEER

London School of Economics

Naila Kabeer's research and writing interests include gender, poverty, social exclusion, labour markets and livelihoods, social protection and citizenship. Much of her work is focused on South and South East Asia.

#### JOMO KWAME SUNDARAM

Council of Eminent Persons, Malaysia

Jomo Kwame Sundaram, an economist known for his unorthodox non-partisan views, was appointed to the 5-member Council of Eminent Persons in May 2018, advising the Malaysian government on economic and financial matters, and is the former UN Assistant Secretary-General for Economic Development.

#### SASKIA SASSEN

Columbia University

Saskia Sassen's research and writing focus on globalization, immigration, global cities, new networked technologies, and changes within the liberal state that result from current transnational conditions.

### OPENING REMARKS

#### JONAS PONTUSSON

Professor, UNIGE

#### PAUL LADD

Director, UNRISD

### MODERATOR

#### IMOGEN FOULKES

BBC

In collaboration with



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DE GENÈVE

## Opening

# Overcoming Inequalities in a Fractured World: Between Elite Power and Social Mobilization

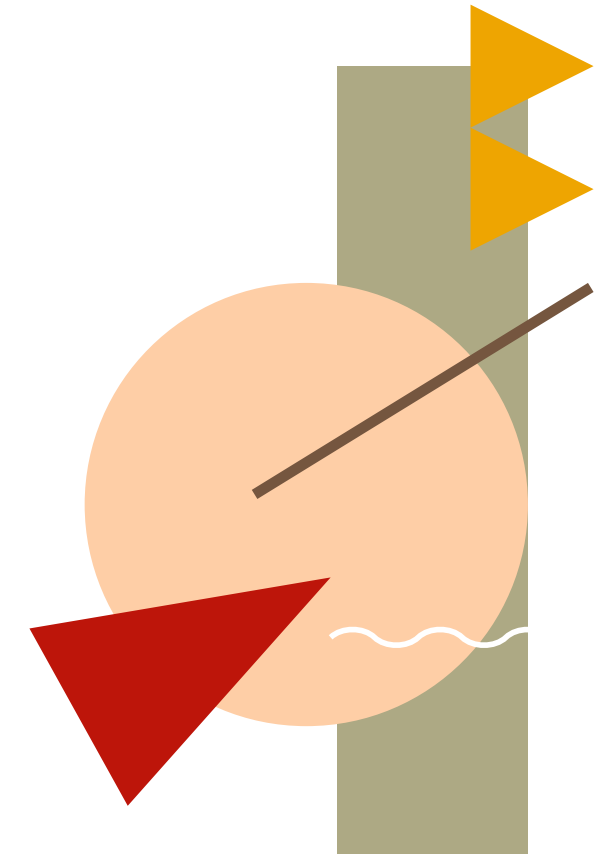
8 NOV  
8.15–9.00  
ARRIVAL PRÉGNÉ GATE

9.00–9.30  
OPENING SESSION

ROOM XXIII

The Conference brings together expertise from across a diversity of countries and disciplines to:

- facilitate knowledge exchange and mutual learning across academia, civil society, the UN and national governments, about progressive alliances and policy change for more equitable, sustainable, and just societies;
- propose evidence-based recommendations for innovative ways in which diverse actors can work together to design and deliver a transformative eco-social compact for the 21<sup>st</sup> century; and
- bring this new evidence and analysis, especially from the Global South, to bear on UN debates and policy processes, including implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.



### SPEAKERS

**PAUL LADD**  
Director  
UNRISD

**HUBERT SCHILLINGER**  
Director  
FES Geneva Office

**KATJA HUJO**  
Senior Research Coordinator  
UNRISD

## Session 1

8 NOV  
9.30

ROOM XXIII

**Inequality and Institutions:  
Political Barriers to  
Transformative Change**

Transformative social policies can be defined as those that reduce structural inequalities and address the root causes of poverty, a long-term endeavor that requires changes in social relations and social institutions. However, institutions do not exist in a vacuum. They are designed in response to various pressures arising from the global economic system, and tied to political contexts specific in terms of space and time. They are determined by a variety of factors, including the incentives of those who design and manage them, the electoral landscape that brought them into power, and the networks of influential actors—from policy makers, to donors, to business actors—who stand to gain from their success or failure. How do these underlying power dynamics impact development outcomes? How do institutions at different levels, from local to global, interact? What political barriers exist that need to be overcome to reduce inequality and create better institutions?



## SPEAKERS

**INEQUALITY: A WORLD-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**  
Roberto Patricio Korzeniewicz (University of Maryland)

**INEQUALITY AND INSTITUTIONS: EXPLORING THE MEDIATING  
ROLE OF POLITICAL SETTLEMENTS IN SOME SELECTED  
AFRICAN COUNTRIES**  
Michael Danquah (University of Ghana)

**WHAT MAKES A GOVERNMENT TACKLE INEQUALITY?  
THE COMMITMENT TO REDUCING INEQUALITY INDEX 2018**  
Max Lawson (Oxfam)

**TARGETING VERSUS PROTECTION IN PHILIPPINE CASH  
TRANSFERS: REASSESSING BEST PRACTICES IN A  
CELEBRATED CASE OF SOCIAL PROTECTION**  
Emma Lynn Dadap-Cantal (International Institute of Social Studies,  
The Hague), Andrew Fischer (International Institute of Social Studies,  
The Hague), and Charmaine Ramos (International Institute of Social  
Studies, The Hague)

**SOCIAL PROTECTION IN LATIN AMERICA: ELECTORAL  
DYNAMICS AND WELFARE GENEROSITY IN COMPARATIVE  
PERSPECTIVE**  
Gabriela Ramalho Tafoya (University of Connecticut)

## CHAIR

Jomo Kwame Sundaram  
Council of Eminent Persons, Malaysia

## Keynote Address

8 NOV  
11.45

ROOM XXIII

**Global and National Inequalities:  
A Worried Look into the Future**

## KEYNOTE SPEAKER

**FRANÇOIS BOURGUIGNON**  
Emeritus Professor of Economics  
Paris School of Economics

François Bourguignon was the Director of the Paris School of Economics from 2007 to 2013. Previous roles include Chief Economist and Senior Vice-President of the World Bank in Washington DC and professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris. His work bears mainly upon the distribution and redistribution of income in developed and developing countries.

## Parallel Session 2

8 NOV  
14.00

ROOM XXIII

A

### Networks of Power in a Fractured World: The Role and Influence of Elites

Elites constitute a unique social group defined by their disproportionate control over resources—be they economic, political, cultural—and their ability to translate those resources into power, influence and other forms of capital. They are often linked much more closely to each other across linguistic, cultural and geographic divides than to citizens of their own nations. How have elites and elite networks brought about the deepening of social and economic cleavages across the globe? What are the motivations for elites to work together, what are the tools used, and what impact has this had on global political shifts? What role have elites played in engendering or inhibiting transformative change in the past, and what might motivate elites to engage in progressive alliances?

#### SPEAKERS

**ELITES, IDEAS AND THE POLITICS OF INCLUSIVE DEVELOPMENT**  
Tom Lavers (University of Manchester)

**PHILANTHROPY, ELITES AND INEQUALITY: UNDERSTANDING CONNECTIONS AND COMPLEXITIES TO GENERATE POLICY INSIGHTS**

Luna Glucksberg (London School of Economics), Louise Russell-Prywata (London School of Economics)

**HEDGED OUT: INSIDE THE “BOYS’ CLUB” ON WALL STREET**  
Megan Tobias Neely (Stanford University)

**THE ROLE OF BUSINESS ELITE NETWORKS AND MEDIA CAPTURE IN THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF REDISTRIBUTIVE POLITICAL PROJECTS**

Julián Cárdenas (Free University of Berlin and Alice Salomon University Germany), Francisco Robles-Rivera (Free University of Berlin and University of Costa Rica)

**ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INEQUALITY: WHAT DO WE KNOW AND WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?**

Jonas Pontusson (University of Geneva)

#### CHAIR

Graziella Moraes Silva  
Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva

8 NOV  
14.00

ROOM XVIII

B

### The Role of Institutions in Perpetuating or Curbing Inequalities

Unequal power relations and inequalities are maintained and reinforced through formal and informal institutions, ranging from electoral rules to education systems, property rights, access to finance and capital, and social norms. Which kinds of policies and institutional structures are most effective in moving countries towards greater equality, and which ones further entrench divisions? How can social policies and institutions be used to either create spaces for marginalized actors—including women, minorities and popular classes—to have a slice of the pie, or create a barrier across which certain kinds of actors cannot move? Which institutions and regulations at national, regional and global levels can rein in elite power for the sake of public interest?

#### SPEAKERS

**REPRODUCTION OF INEQUALITIES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SOCIAL POLICIES IN LATIN AMERICA**  
Roberto Rocha Coelho Pires (Institute for Applied Economic Research—IPEA)

**A MINIMUM WAGE FOR SOUTH AFRICA—CHALLENGING LABOUR MARKET INEQUALITIES**

Imraan Valodia (University of the Witwatersrand), David Francis (University of the Witwatersrand)

**POWER-SHARING INSTITUTIONS AND POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INEQUALITIES**

Lars-Erik Cederman (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich), Simon Hug (University of Geneva)

**ACHIEVING SDG 10: A GLOBAL REVIEW OF PUBLIC SERVICE INCLUSION STRATEGIES FOR ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES**

Ghazala Mir (University of Leeds)

**GENDERED POWER RELATIONS IN TRANSITION? DIVISION OF PAID AND UNPAID WORK IN JAPAN AND KOREA FROM A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**

Mi Young An (Kookmin University)

#### CHAIR

Yusuf Bangura  
Senior Research Associate, UNRISD

## Parallel Session 3

8 NOV  
16.00

ROOM XXIII

A

## Elite Ideology and Perceptions of Inequality: Implications for Redistribution and Social Cohesion

Elites play a key role in perpetuating or deepening inequality, but also have the power to ameliorate it. Elites tend to hold key positions in political, economic and cultural domains of society, which gives them the opportunity to act as enlightened leaders and drivers for progressive change. How do elites perceive inequality, its causal drivers and consequences? How do they perceive their roles and responsibilities in relation to a greater public good, and how do they perceive themselves in relation to other elites or groups in society? What can encourage and incentivize, or pressure, elites—who control economies and political systems—to promote policies that lessen their share of influence?

### SPEAKERS

#### ELITES' PERCEPTIONS OF INEQUALITY: WHO SUPPORTS REDISTRIBUTION? WHY, WHEN AND HOW?

Graziella Moraes Silva (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies), Matias López (Pontifical Catholic University of Chile), Elisa Reis (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro), Chana Teeger (London School of Economics)

#### SEEING INEQUALITY? RELATIVE AFFLUENCE AND ELITE PERCEPTIONS IN MEXICO

Alice Krozer (Colegio de México)

#### ¿EL MÉRITO DE LO ADSCRITO? PERCEPCIONES DE LA ELITE ECONÓMICA SOBRE EL IMPUESTO A LA HERENCIA

Jorge Atria Curi (Universidad Mayor)

#### INEQUALITY, POPULAR ATTITUDES AND ELITE IDEOLOGY IN AFRICA: THE CASE OF SOCIAL PROTECTION

Jeremy Seekings (University of Cape Town)

### CHAIR

Katja Hujo  
UNRISD

8 NOV  
16.00

ROOM XVIII

B

## Shifting Class Structures and Identities in the Age of Neoliberalism

Organized labour was a crucial actor in the construction of modern welfare states, whereas middle class buy-in has been equally important for universalizing social rights while guaranteeing sustainable financing and quality control of public social services. How have class structures and identities shifted in the age of neoliberalism and rapid technological progress that is changing the world of work, and what does this shift imply for the possibility of progressive alliances for social change? What factors push some segments of middle classes rightwards while they incite disengagement in others, and how can middle classes be reincorporated into a project of progressive social change? What is the role of labour movements, including informal workers' organizations, in times of a growing and diversifying precariat in both the Global South and North? How do intersecting identities such as class, gender, sexuality and race/ethnicity play out in political mobilization, and what is the role of politics of recognition?

### SPEAKERS

#### HOW DOES SOCIAL PROTECTION ADDRESS VERTICAL, HORIZONTAL AND SPATIAL INEQUALITIES: TOWARDS ACHIEVING THE SDGS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Sophie Plagerson (University of Johannesburg)

#### REWIRING THE SOCIAL CONTRACT: DIGITAL TAXIS AND ECONOMIC INCLUSION IN NIGERIA

Kate Meagher (London School of Economics and Political Science)

#### CHALLENGING ELITE CAPITAL CONTROL THROUGH NEW FORMS OF COOPERATION: THE CASE OF SMALL-SCALE FISHERS IN THE COROMANDEL COAST, TAMIL NADU

Nitya Rao (University of East Anglia), Renganathan Manimohan (Fisheries Management Resource Centre)

#### BRAZIL'S ECONOMIC UPSURGE IN THE 2000'S: THE RISE OF A "NEW" MIDDLE CLASS OR THE FRAGMENTATION OF THE WORKING CLASS?

Carla Beatriz de Paulo (University of Brasilia)

#### LE PROCESSUS D'APPAUVRISSEMENT DES CLASSES MOYENNES EN HAÏTI ET SES CONSÉQUENCES ECONOMIQUES ET SOCIALES

Alrich Nicolas (Université d'Etat d'Haïti)

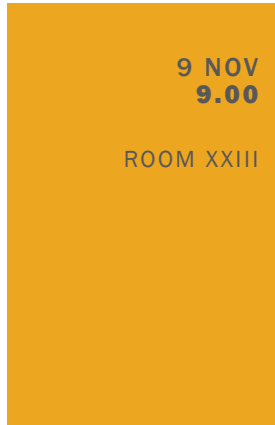
### CHAIR

Christine Verschuur  
Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva





## Keynote Address



### Oneness vs. The 1%

KEYNOTE SPEAKER

#### **VANDANA SHIVA**

Author, scientist, environmental activist and eco-feminist

Vandana Shiva trained initially as a physicist and later shifted to interdisciplinary research in science, technology and environmental policy.

She has founded a number of initiatives addressing the most significant ecological and social issues of our times from research and activist perspectives; Forbes magazine identified her as one of the top seven most powerful women on the globe in November 2010.

Among her many awards are the Right Livelihood Award (also known as the Alternative Nobel Prize), the UNEP Global 500 Award and the MIDORI Prize for Biodiversity.

9 NOVEMBER

## Parallel Session 4

9 NOV  
10.30

ROOM XXIII

A

## Cities for Whom? Causes and Consequences of Urban Socio-Spatial Inequalities

Inequalities often come to a head most visibly at the local level, spaces in which those at either end of the spectrum engage with each other on a daily basis, mediated through various forms of power relations as well as social, spatial and economic barriers. How do these cleavages impact daily life, and what consequences (economic, political, environmental, human) do they pose for a city, a country or individual lives? What effects have these fractures had on the social and spatial arrangements of communities—in particular through the closing out of public space and access to services and infrastructure—and what new challenges do these pose for groups such as women, the poor, and minorities, as well as the ecosystems they inhabit? As new lines are drawn, how are practices of citizenship being reshaped and what spaces for progressive change are being closed out—or opening up—as a result? What motivates choices to either opt out of a commitment to the public good through access to private means or to participate in an inclusive social compact?

### SPEAKERS

#### THE SPATIAL FACE OF INEQUALITY: MOBILITY AND THE IMPACT OF NEOLIBERAL POLICIES ON TRANSPORTATION INFRASTRUCTURE IN PARANÁ, BRAZIL

Gustavo Glodes Blum (Centro Universitário Curitiba)

#### WOMEN'S CHANGING ASSETS AND THE SPATIALITIES OF GENDER AND POVERTY FROM SQUATTER SETTLEMENT INTO MASS HOUSING: A CASE STUDY FROM TURKEY

Imren Borsuk Eroglu (Stockholm University Institute for Turkish Studies)

#### INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS, SOCIOECONOMIC FRACTURING AND CULTURAL MARGINALIZATION: SPATIALIZING THE PROCESSES THAT COMPOUND INEQUALITIES

Julie MacLeavy (University of Bristol), David Manley (University of Bristol)

#### THE OLYMPIC LEGACY OF RIO 2016: A CITY FOR WHOM?

Adriana Portella (Federal University of Pelotas), Gisele Pereira (Federal University of Pelotas)

### CHAIR

Rowland Atkinson  
Sheffield University

9 NOV  
10.30

ROOM XVIII

B

## Between Climate Justice and Social Exclusion: Towards an Eco-Social Approach

One of the most profound ways in which inequalities are felt at the local level is through the impacts of climate change and environmental degradation. Those least responsible for global warming incur the highest social cost, and further, are often either left out of or negatively impacted by policies meant to stem the impacts of climate change, constituting a triple injustice. How are this global crisis and responses to it—mediated through unequal power relations—rearranging local lifeworlds, compounding precarity and creating new forms of inequality? How can an eco-social approach that addresses environmental issues in tandem with social ones simultaneously push forward both sustainability and social justice, while respecting traditional ways of life, empowering local actors, and healing our ailing planet?

### SPEAKERS

#### PERSISTENCE OF POVERTY IN AN INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY IN SOUTHERN INDIA: BRINGING AGRARIAN ENVIRONMENT TO THE CENTRE OF POVERTY ANALYSIS

Sudheesh Ramapurath Chemmencheri (University of Oxford)

#### TWO DECADES UNDER WINDMILLS IN LA VENTA, MEXICO: FROM AN ANNOYANCE TO A BLESSING—FOR SOME

Gerardo Torres Contreras (University of Sussex)

#### EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE, SOCIAL INEQUALITIES AND POLITICS OF EXCLUSION: EVIDENCE FROM THE NIGER DELTA, NIGERIA

Iwebunor Okwechime (Obafemi Awolowo University)

#### DESIGUALDADES EN LA GOBERNANZA DEL AGUA EN UN CONTEXTO DE EXTRACTIVISMO MINERO: EL CASO DE LA CUENCA ALTA RÍO LOCUMBA (TACNA, PERÚ)

Diego Geng (Pontifical Catholic University of Peru)

#### NEGOTIATING A FAILING CITY: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF FLOOD ADAPTATION IN MUMBAI

Kalyani Jayasankar (Princeton University)

### CHAIR

Gabriele Köhler  
Independent Researcher

## Parallel Session 5

9 NOV  
13.30

ROOM XXIII

A

## Towards Transformative Public Policy: Undermining Elite Power through Local Collaboration and Social Mobilization

Shifts towards progressive social policies that address inequality at its core are few and far between, regularly blocked by the powerful elites who find such redistributive measures contrary to their interests. To truly achieve social justice requires an approach that attacks inequality at the structural level, addressing root causes and rearranging power structures. Such a transformative approach is necessary to achieve lasting change. Despite many barriers, several countries have implemented innovative policy approaches and succeeded in implementing reforms with progressive outcomes, from the local to the national level, curbing inequalities, sharing costs and benefits of reforms more fairly, and making their societies more just and green. What popular mechanisms of political engagement have been most effective at curbing elite influence and pushing forward policies that address inequality at the structural level? On the other hand, what strategies have failed to upend the status quo, and what can be learned from the unsuccessful attempts?

### SPEAKERS

#### REGULATING THE REGULATORS: TRACING THE EMERGENCE OF THE POLITICAL TRANSPARENCY LAWS IN CHILE

Bettina Schorr (Free University of Berlin)

#### THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE AGRI-FOOD SYSTEM IN THAILAND: POWER, ACCUMULATION, AND THE SEARCH FOR SUSTAINABILITY

Prapimphan Chiengkul (Thammasat University)

#### COMBATIENDO LA EXCLUSIÓN SOCIOESPACIAL: APRENDIENDO DE RECIENTES POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS DE VIVIENDA DIGNA EN EL NORTE Y SUR GLOBAL

Borja M. Iglesias (Universitat de Lleida DUOT y UPC BarcelonaTech)

#### CITY-TO-CITY COOPERATION AND THE PROMISE OF A DEMOCRATIC "RIGHT TO THE CITY"

Fritz Nganje (University of Johannesburg)

#### THE DYNAMICS OF REDISTRIBUTIVE SOCIAL POLICY IN LATIN AMERICA: COLLECTIVE MOBILIZATIONS, POLITICAL ALLIES AND INSTITUTIONS

Rossella Ciccía (Queen's University Belfast),  
César Guzmán-Concha (Scuola Normale Superiore)

### CHAIR

Shalini Randeria

Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva; IWM

9 NOV  
13.30

ROOM XVIII

B

## Actors, Alliances and Strategies for a New Social Compact

In the past, progressive policy change in industrialized democracies was often steered by broad cross-class coalitions between popular and middle classes that effectively pressured elites; in countries of the Global South, enlightened leaders and liberation movements often played a similar role. However, social and economic forces that underpinned progressive policy change of the past, such as workers' movements and trade unions, take a very different shape today, as economic systems have evolved, identities have shifted, new forms of politics have unfolded, and new conceptions of class have arisen. In response, new forms of social movements have sprung up out of reinterpreted visions of citizenship, but their potential for long-term political impact has yet to be proven. What examples exist of peaceful processes of policy change that have levelled out social stratification and devolved power and resources from elites to non-elites, and what were the drivers or incentives in those processes? Which factors support the creation of cross-class coalitions and other forms of social mobilization for progressive policy reforms and transformative change? What examples exist in which social cleavages have been held at bay, and what mechanisms have been employed in these cases—be they on the transnational, national, subnational or local level—to achieve social progress within planetary boundaries?

### SPEAKERS

#### OTHERING AND SOLIDARITY IN 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY AGRARIAN CALIFORNIA: WHAT CAN WE LEARN ABOUT EFFORTS TO CREATE CROSS-SECTOR ALLIANCES FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL CHANGE?

Antonio Roman-Alcalá (International Institute of Social Studies)

#### INFORMAL WORKERS CO-PRODUCING SOCIAL SERVICES IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH: TASK SHIFTING OR POLITICAL STRATEGY TOWARDS A NEW SOCIAL CONTRACT?

Laura Alfors (Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing, and Rhodes University)

#### ENTANGLED INEQUALITIES AND NETWORK BUILDING: ORGANIZATIONAL EXPERIENCES OF PAID DOMESTIC WORKERS IN URUGUAY AND PARAGUAY

Raquel Rojas Scheffer (Free University of Berlin)

#### INEQUIDADES EN LA REALIZACIÓN DEL DERECHO A LA SALUD EN EL MUNDO DEL TRABAJO EN COLOMBIA: CAMINOS PARA SU SUPERACIÓN DESDE LA MOVILIZACIÓN SOCIAL DE LAS Y LOS TRABAJADORES

Mauricio Torres-Tovar (National University of Colombia)

#### CREATIVE COALITIONS IN A FRACTURED WORLD: AN OPPORTUNITY FOR TRANSFORMATIVE CHANGE?

Gabriele Köhler (Independent Researcher)

### CHAIR

Valeria Esquivel

International Labour Organization



## Special Roundtable



9 NOV  
15.45

ROOM XXIII

### The Politics of Transformative Change: UN and Civil Society Roundtable

This special session features policy makers, practitioners and activists in conversation about the challenges of inequality and transformative change from their perspective, bringing the conference to a practice-oriented close. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development commits all states to be part of a new global compact that will leave no one behind. It explicitly aims to tackle inequality within and between countries (SDG 10) and genders (SDG 5) and to promote peaceful and inclusive societies (SDG 16), three goals that exemplify the scope and depth of the new global development strategy and the strong engagement of a range of actors such as civil society organizations, activists and academics in its making. While the aspirations of the Agenda are laudable, it is silent on a more substantive understanding of transformation, and how it will actually happen. What is needed now is a better understanding of the politics of transformative change: how can effective and durable national and global compacts be forged between the multiple stakeholders addressed in the SDGs? This roundtable will bring together activists, policymakers and UN representatives to ask what is needed to forge a new social compact that truly leaves no one behind.



#### SPEAKERS

##### **BEN PHILLIPS**

Launch Director, Fight Inequality Alliance

##### **ANITA NAYAR**

Director, Regions Refocus

##### **ELLIOTT HARRIS**

UN Assistant Secretary-General for Economic Development and Chief Economist (via video link)

##### **RICHARD JOLLY**

Honorary Professor, Research Associate, University of Sussex

#### CHAIR

##### **PAUL LADD**

Director, UNRISD



## SESSION 1.

**Inequality and Institutions: Political Barriers to Transformative Change****Inequality: A World-Historical Perspective**

Roberto Patricio Korzeniewicz (University of Maryland)

This paper theorizes inequality as a complex set of interactions that have unfolded over space and time as a world historical phenomenon. The underlying assumption of many studies, but also the constraining institutional reality of how relevant data are collected, is that the nation-state constitutes the crucial and only possible unit of analysis. For example, many social scientists devote considerable attention to the impact of national institutions on distributional outcomes. While recognizing the great value of the insights produced under such an assumption, the paper explores how shifting the unit of analysis from the nation-state to the world as a whole serves to generate more productive hypotheses about the past and future of inequality—not only at a global, but also at national or local scales. The paper argues that processes of “creative destruction”, unfolding through institutions embedded in time and space, produce a constant drive towards inequality that results, not in discrete nationally bounded distributions, but in a multiple and overlapping matrix of distributional arrays—a global income distribution that is both systemic and historical.

**Keywords**

Social inequality; social stratification; social mobility

**Inequality and Institutions: Exploring the Mediating Role of Political Settlements in Some Selected African Countries**

Michael Danquah (University of Ghana)

In this paper, we quantitatively examine the interplay of legal, political and economic institutions, and political settlements on income inequality. We focus on the marginal effect of the institutional variables on income inequality conditioned on political settlements. The findings show that the marginal effect of legal, political and economic institutions contingent on competitive clientelist political settlements exacerbates income inequality significantly. This means that the politics and power play in competitive clientelist political settlements are detrimental to equality and poverty reduction. Therefore the dynamics of inequality depend primarily on how the elites respond to the emerging balance of power. These findings present a gloomy picture about the impetus for structural transformation and poverty reduction in sub-Saharan African countries, since the underlying distribution of power in the emerging forms of democracy in the region are becoming competitive clientelist. The difficult policy challenge is how to use appropriate governance strategies to develop effective institutional structures that can harness elite power for the sake of the national interest.

**Keywords**

Inequality; institutions; political settlements; sub-Saharan Africa

**Targeting versus Protection in Philippine Cash Transfers: Reassessing Best Practices in a Celebrated Case of Social Protection**

Emma Lynn Dadap-Cantal (International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague), Andrew Fischer (International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague), and Charmaine Ramos (International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague)

This paper critically reassesses the dominant narrative about the conditional cash transfer (CCT) programme in the Philippines, the Pantawid, which has been promoted as one of the largest and most successful of its kind. Through extensive documentary analysis and key informant interviews conducted during fieldwork in the Philippines in 2017 and 2018, we argue that various political economy dynamics underlying the expansion of the Pantawid through the targeting modality of the associated social registry has undermined its protective functioning as a system that is able to adapt to changing conditions of poverty among the targeted population. Instead it has involved the formation of a group-based system of entitlements, through the creation of a quasi-permanent constituency of beneficiaries defined by the increasingly out-dated poverty identification exercise. The struggles over the ways forward have emerged from tensions amongst different agendas within the government, while the advancement of Listahanan appears to serve discursive objectives among donors as well as their interests of piloting sectoral integration, such that they have not challenged the nature of the targeting modalities. As such, these dynamics can be understood as reinforcing political processes of claims making, although not necessarily of the sort conceived by rights-based forms of citizenship.

**Keywords**

Social protection; social provisioning; conditional cash transfers; targeting; inequality

**What Makes a Government Tackle Inequality? The Commitment to Reducing Inequality Index 2018**

Max Lawson (Oxfam)

Oxfam’s Commitment to Reducing Inequality index (CRI 2018) ranks 157 countries globally on policy actions they take in three areas known to reduce inequality: progressive spending, progressive taxation and labour rights. The CRI 2018 gives us an insight into which countries are currently taking steps to tackle inequality, and also begins to unpack the political changes that are making these progressive policies possible, and what we can learn from this for other countries.

**Keywords**

Inequality; progressive taxation; social spending; labour rights; gender inequality; health; education

**Social Protection in Latin America: Electoral Dynamics and Welfare Generosity in Comparative Perspective**

Gabriela Ramalho Tafoya (University of Connecticut)

Scholars have long noted the regressive character of social policy across Latin America, but recent studies focusing on policy developments of Left governments have found effective poverty and inequality reduction strategies in varied political

and economic contexts. This paper presents new data on Latin American social policy regimes and assesses the impact of political competition and changing class dynamics on welfare developments across the region. The findings suggest that increased political competition in the context of economic stability and a growing middle-class result in more generous welfare policies.

#### Keywords

Social policy; welfare; electoral competition; middle class



SESSION 2A.

## Networks of Power in a Fractured World: The Role and Influence of Elites

### Elites, Ideas and the Politics of Inclusive Development

Tom Lavers (University of Manchester)

Recent work on the politics of development and, in particular, the role of political settlements in shaping development outcomes have provided important insights into how power relations contribute to developmental successes and failures. However, important questions remain regarding how political settlements are formed and maintained over time, as well as the extent to which political settlements determine particular policy choices within policy domains. This paper considers the role that ideas can play in studying the politics of development and the extent to which an analytical focus on ideas might address some of these gaps. Work on political settlements has, for the most part, emphasised explanations based on the material interests of elites, paying little to no attention to the causal role of ideas. This paper first examines the compatibility between Khan's political settlements framework and theoretical work on ideas, arguing that taking ideas seriously requires questioning some of the core ontological assumptions underpinning the political settlements framework. The paper proposes an adapted framework that responds to this challenge and, drawing on three of Manchester's Effective States and Inclusive Development research centre's (ESID) comparative projects, highlights how a focus on elite ideas can deepen our understanding of the dynamics within particular political settlements and policy domains.

#### Keywords

Ideas; discursive institutionalism; power relations; political settlements

### Philanthropy, Elites and Inequality: Understanding Connections and Complexities to Generate Policy Insights

Luna Glucksberg (London School of Economics), Louise Russell-Prywata (London School of Economics)

This paper investigates the role of elite philanthropy in the context of rising global inequality, asking whether philanthropic donations by wealthy individuals

and foundations are well placed to help tackle structural inequality. We explore the challenges posed by the concepts of philanthrocapitalism and plutocratic philanthropy by analysing a network comprising the top 30 UK philanthropists and their connections to business and foundation interests, showing their financial scale and connectivity. We embed this new data into a review of the most recent social science literature on elites, which focuses on elite reproduction, how wealthy families perceive inequality, and how and why they engage in philanthropic activities. From these data, we develop an analysis of the current landscape of inequality based on that of British sociologist Mike Savage (2015) to argue that elite philanthropy as an ecosystem—made up of capital, people and institutions—is not well placed to systemically challenge inequalities, due to its financial size tending to be dwarfed by business activities, and social functions of philanthropy that help maintain the advantaged positions of elites. We conclude by outlining some policy implications of these findings with regard the Sustainable Development Goals pledge that “no one will be left behind”.

#### Keywords

Elite; philanthropy; elite reproduction; tax; network analysis; inequality

## The Role of Business Elite Networks, State Capture and Media Capture in the Success or Failure of Redistributive Political Projects

Julián Cárdenas (Free University of Berlin and Alice Salomon University Germany), Francisco Robles-Rivera (Free University of Berlin and University of Costa Rica)

Business elites establish ties with other powerful actors such as media companies to obtain privileged information and influence worldviews. The resulting business elite network reveals the organization of business elites and media outlets, and is also a way of analysing the capabilities (and weaknesses) of business elites to block emerging redistributive political initiatives. When political parties with a redistributive agenda have real chances to win elections, business elites react. Out of the various strategies that business elites undertake to influence politics and society, media capture has been one of the most assumed but also most unexplored. Media capture refers to a situation in which elites exert direct actions to suppress or to disseminate (un)favorable information, which constrains media autonomy. Drawing on two Latin American countries, Costa Rica and El Salvador, the present study (1) uncovers and analyses business elite networks among media companies and large corporations through interlocking directorates, and (2) shows how business elites implemented media capture when the status quo was threatened by redistributive political projects. Findings show that where media companies were embedded in cohesive business networks, media capture was coordinated and blocked redistributive political projects. This research contributes to emerging debates on business elites and redistributive policies, and the political role of business elite networks.

#### Keywords

Business elites; elite networks; media capture; Latin America; interlocking directorates; redistributive projects

## Hedged Out: Inside the “Boys’ Club” on Wall Street

Megan Tobias Neely (Stanford University)

Income inequality has skyrocketed in the United States. Since 1980, the richest 1 percent doubled their share of the nation’s earnings, and these high earners are concentrated in the financial services industry. Today, hedge fund managers earn an average annual income of \$2.4 million, astronomical payouts that have mostly gone to elite white men. Using the U.S. hedge fund industry as a case study, I explain how an elite “boys’ club” has become entrenched. From 2013 to 2017, I conducted in-depth interviews with 45 hedge fund workers and field observations at 12 workplaces and 34 industry events. I present an insider’s look at the industry to explain why this industry has generated extreme wealth and why mostly white men benefit. In this paper, I identify the mechanisms generating social inequality in these firms and how this helps to explain the industry’s high incomes. With less bureaucracy and hierarchy, I find that executives and employees called their firms “flat” recounting few mid-level managers and open communication. Despite this discourse, social inequalities were embedded in the organizational logic. This was evident in labour divisions, workplace culture, accountability structures, and compensation systems.

### Keywords

Elites; inequality; gender; race; organizations

## On the Relationship Between Economic and Political Inequality: What Do We Know and Where Do We Go from Here?

Jonas Pontusson (University of Geneva)

Building on research in progress, this paper summarizes political science literature on income bias in political representation in OECD countries and explores questions raised by this literature. A number of recent studies show that the policy preferences of elected officials are more closely aligned with the policy preferences of affluent citizens than poor citizens, and that government policy is more responsive to the demands of affluent citizens. This is most obviously the case for the United States, but it is also true for the European countries analysed. The paper sketches a research programme that seeks to further the understanding of unequal representation by engaging in cross-national comparison and by addressing the question of whether or not unequal representation has increased as income and wealth inequality has risen over the last 20 to 30 years.

### Keywords

Income inequality; policy preferences; political participation; political elites; policy responsiveness

### SESSION 2B.

## The Role of Institutions in Perpetuating or Curbing Inequalities

### Reproduction of Inequalities in the Implementation of Social Policies in Latin America

Roberto Rocha Coelho Pires (Institute for Applied Economic Research—IPEA)

This paper aims to bring together discussions about policy implementation and reproduction of social inequalities. Our main goal is to identify and take inventory of the different mechanisms through which the day-to-day operations of government and the encounters between service workers and users may engender risks of inequality reproduction. Implementation processes take place in the hidden recesses of routine or in the obscure actions and inactions of public agents. Beyond contributing to the execution of the desired effects of social policies, we argue that policy implementation processes also produce other non-intended effects on service users and targeted populations. These effects may contribute to the persistence of social inequalities by producing the accumulation of material and symbolic disadvantages on social groups who traditionally experience forms of vulnerability. The empirical analysis draws from the systematic comparison of 23 concrete cases of social policy implementation in Brazil and Mexico. By looking across the cases, we identified an array of mechanisms linking implementation dynamics to the material and symbolic effects reinforcing already existing inequalities. Recognizing these mechanisms is an important step towards making social policies and services more effective in the pursuit of sustainable development goals.

### Keywords

Public policy; implementation; inequality reproduction; Brazil; Mexico

### A Minimum Wage for South Africa: Challenging Labour Market Inequalities

Imraan Valodia (University of the Witwatersrand), David Francis (University of the Witwatersrand)

South Africa has recently embarked on the implementation of a universal national minimum wage for the first time in the country’s history. This is an important intervention, given that the South African labour market continues to generate some of the highest levels of income and wealth inequality in the world. The minimum wage is intended as a structural intervention to transform the nature of the labour market by setting a humane wage floor, while highlighting the larger issues that continue to reproduce inequality in the South African labour market. The process raises interesting questions about the role of social dialogue, and the institutions tasked with overseeing the social dialogue process, in the policy making process, especially at a time when the role of experts and evidence are contested in global and local political economy. The national minimum wage process shows that perhaps institutionalized social dialogue

continues to be a central part of our policy making process, but it cannot be taken for granted: the particular configuration of the social dialogue process and the roles assigned to each player matter. The role of outside players, such as experts and the media, if part of a coherent and considered strategy, can be important in moving policy forward.

**Keywords**

Minimum wage; labour market; political economy; South Africa; social dialogue

## Power-Sharing Institutions and Political and Economic Inequalities

Lars-Erik Cederman (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich),  
Simon Hug (University of Geneva)

Power-sharing institutions are often invoked in order to reduce horizontal political inequalities. For instance, in the aftermath of ethnic civil wars, peace agreements typically contain specific provisions that are intended to reduce political and sometimes also economic inequalities. So far, however, few studies have addressed the question whether formal institutional rules have their intended effect of reducing political inequalities. Similarly, the consequences of institutional provisions for economic inequalities have not been evaluated systematically. Drawing on our current research, we hypothesize that formal institutional rules that aim at sharing power (either at the governmental and/or territorial level) do reduce ethno-political inequalities, but these political inequalities are also affected by other elements that are not related to formal institutions. Similarly, we expect that political inclusion induced through power-sharing institutions also reduces horizontal economic inequalities. To assess these hypothesized relationships we draw on two existing global datasets that provide information about formal power-sharing institutions since 1975, and the access to executive power of ethnic groups and estimates of their relative economic well-being since World War II. Our preliminary findings suggest that formal power-sharing institutions contribute to a reduction in political and economic inequalities.

**Keywords**

Power sharing; horizontal inequality; political and economic inequality

## Achieving SDG 10: A Global Review of Public Service Inclusion Strategies for Ethnic and Religious Minorities

Ghazala Mir (University of Leeds)

Social inequalities are intensifying globally and widening divisions are linked to civil unrest. Disadvantaged ethnic and religious groups experience poor access to, representation in and outcomes from public services such as health care and education. As mechanisms for social participation and citizenship, public services are key to inclusive societies. In this paper we attempt to bridge evidence gaps, drawing on results of a systematic review of strategies for the inclusion of minority

ethnic and religious communities in four public service areas: education, health, local government and police services. Our overall aim is to raise awareness and provoke debate, reflection and subsequently action towards the inclusion of disadvantaged ethnic and religious minorities within public services. Public service inclusion strategies were identified through a global evidence review and four country-specific reviews conducted by the Inclusive Cities Network—academics, NGOs, policy makers and practitioners from India, Kenya, Nigeria, Viet Nam and the United Kingdom. Published evidence was supplemented by country-based and international workshops involving over 230 relevant stakeholders. We specifically explored intersectional experience relating to gender, age and migration. 56 publications were identified for the global review, mostly in health and education. The macro (social and political), meso (institutional) and micro (individual) arenas were identified as three distinct but interconnected levels through which exclusion is operationalized. Three overarching frameworks appeared key to successful ethnic and religious inclusion initiatives: accounting for social context; multiple strategies for system reform; and collaboration with disadvantaged communities. Inclusion strategies that address macro, meso and micro level drivers of exclusion are needed to achieve the aspirations of SDG 10. Involving affected communities is key to their success.

**Keywords**

Inequality; SDG 10; ethnicity; religion; disadvantage; public services

## Gendered Power Relations in Transition? Division of Paid and Unpaid Work in Japan and Korea from a Comparative Perspective

Mi Young An (Kookmin University)

This paper examines the gender division of paid and unpaid work in Japan and Korea and the related macro-level factors. It suggests that the role of the state goes beyond family policies targeting female employment promotion to include politics, i.e., gender representativeness in parliament. Methodologically, the paper compares the East Asian countries to European countries. The empirical analysis shows that at the European level, the role of family policy is an important macro-level factor in differences in married women's employment rate and share of unpaid work. When the East Asian countries are added, multilevel analysis shows women's political representation matters. Japan and Korea have modernized their family policies and do not significantly lag behind the high-income countries in Europe in terms of what the changed policies imply for female employment. By and large, European countries' promotion of female employment in family policies positively corresponds to the growth of female representation in parliament. This is not the case in Japan and Korea. Women's representation in top decision-making domains is weak, and this seems to be a significant macro-level factor in the strong, ongoing gender division of paid and unpaid work at the micro level.

**Keywords**

Gender; division of labour; welfare state



## SESSION 3A.



## Elite Ideology and Perceptions of Inequality: Implications for Redistribution and Social Cohesion

### Elites' Perceptions of Inequality: Who Supports Redistribution? Why, When and How?

Graziella Moraes Silva (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies), Matias López (Pontifical Catholic University of Chile), Elisa Reis (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro), Chana Teegee (London School of Economics)

In this paper, we explore Brazilian and South African elite preferences about redistribution by presenting the results of a survey on perceptions of inequality. If, by definition, elites concentrate power and resources, it follows that the design and implementation of redistributive policies depends largely on the preferences of those at the top. Understanding such preferences, as well as the conditions and reasons for them, is thus key for understanding how inequality is reproduced or can be transformed. We rely on random samples of economic, political and bureaucratic (top-tier civil servants) elites in Brazil and South Africa. We found significant country and sector diversity in elite perceptions, in particular regarding their views on the relationship between economic growth, redistribution and inequality, and their preferred solutions to address these issues.

#### Keywords

Inequality; elite; preferences; Brazil; South Africa

### Seeing Inequality? Relative Affluence and Elite Perceptions in Mexico

Alice Krozer (Colegio de México)

Among the many approaches attempting to explain the reproduction of inequalities, the role of perception and relative measures remains under-explored. Based on over 40 in-depth interviews with members of the Mexican elite, this paper examines how the dissonance between elite perception and measured economic status matters for the social construction of inequality. This unique empirical data reveals that the “wealth bubbles” within which elites exist lead to an experience of relative affluence: although elites acknowledge being privileged compared to a majority of the population, they simultaneously feel “deprived” with regard to the exceptionally wealthy peers in their social space. Consequently, despite showing concern about inequality and its negative effects, elites underestimate their own position on the overall income distribution, re-centering the income distribution around their own incomes. Subjective experience also informs participants’ insistence on education as the key to overcome inequality. However, considering the stratified opportunity structures in the country, such measures perpetuate privileges rather than equalizing opportunities. Understanding elites as embedded in their particular sociality helps explain how perception influences inequality levels, as the accumulation of advantages assures

persistently high inequality in the country. Meanwhile, elites’ distorted perception of the majority’s wellbeing threatens social cohesion and obstructs the implementation of effective policy to sustainably decrease inequality.

#### Keywords

Inequality; elite; income distribution; perceptions; Mexico

### ¿El Mérito de lo Adscrito? Percepciones de la Elite Económica sobre el Impuesto a la Herencia

Jorge Atria Curi (Universidad Mayor)

La herencia constituye un campo de conflicto entre individuo y sociedad. Por un lado, representa un factor crucial en la transmisión intergeneracional de recursos, incidiendo en la reproducción de la concentración de ingreso. Por otro lado, el impuesto a la herencia constituye uno de los instrumentos más concretos en favor del mérito, controlando los recursos no conseguidos por logro individual. Este artículo contribuye al estudio de los argumentos y posiciones de la elite económica chilena sobre este impuesto basándose en 32 entrevistas en profundidad a miembros de este grupo. Los resultados muestran la prevalencia de una visión negativa sostenida por tres grandes órdenes de justificación, que enfatizan la ineficiencia e ineffectividad del impuesto, su inconveniencia económica y su falta de fundamento, es decir, el desconocimiento de su propósito o utilidad. En particular, este último sugiere que para la elite económica chilena el impuesto a la herencia es un instrumento impropio para las sociedades actuales, que responde a modelos obsoletos de sociedad. Distinto a la evidencia previa, este argumento sorprende porque desconoce o niega los principios cruciales de la modernidad con los que se vincula, como son la nivelación de oportunidades al inicio de una nueva generación y la redistribución de privilegios y perjuicios. Los hallazgos dejan ver la preeminencia del principio de libertad individual en las decisiones sobre el uso de los recursos por sobre el principio redistributivo que controle la herencia y favorezca el logro personal, como también distintas implicancias para abordar este tributo en la educación cívica y el debate público.

#### Keywords

Elites; tributación; herencia; desigualdad; redistribución

### Inequality, Popular Attitudes and Elite Ideology in Africa: The Case of Social Protection

Jeremy Seekings (University of Cape Town)

Many Southern African countries have very high levels of inequality and thus far higher poverty rates than would be expected given their GDP per capita. The persistence of inequality despite multi-party democracy, mostly competitive elections and (in some cases) turnovers in government, suggests that we need to understand better how both elites and citizens view inequality, poverty and public policy. This paper argues that conservative ideologies and doctrines of welfare predominate in Africa. This ideology entails a distinction between “deserving” and “undeserving” poor people, an aversion to “dependency” on “handouts”, and anxiety about the effects of government interventions (including cash transfers) on productivity and

morality. At the same time, there is a widespread discourse of responsibility for the poor, such that the state should assume some of the roles that were played formerly by kin or community. While evidence on popular opinion is scant, the available evidence suggests that popular and elite attitudes overlap but are not identical.

#### Keywords

Social protection; ideology; public opinion; conservatism; social cash transfers

#### SESSION 3B.

## Shifting Class Structures and Identities in the Age of Neoliberalism

### How Does Social Assistance Address Vertical, Horizontal and Spatial Inequalities? Towards Achieving the SDGs in South Africa

Sophie Plagerson (University of Johannesburg)

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) provide a mandate to address vertical (across populations), horizontal (between groups) and spatial inequalities (across geographical localities). The intersecting effects of vertical, horizontal and spatial inequalities are increasingly relevant in the current global political, social and economic climate. Social protection has been identified as an important policy intervention to address vertical, horizontal and spatial inequalities. The paper focuses on South Africa as a country case study, to discuss whether social assistance has engaged with vertical, horizontal and spatial inequalities in an integrated manner. Social grants in South Africa have had significant effects in curbing vertical, horizontal and spatial inequalities. In some cases, grants have contributed to a de-clustering of income disadvantage from other forms of disadvantage. Social grants represent a “fertile functioning”, with positive outcomes in education, health and women’s empowerment. However, their ability to reverse patterns of corrosive disadvantage in the labour market and economy of care has been limited. Constitutional guarantees have contributed to social inclusion, but other public discourses, particularly around gender, are in conflict with the positive impacts of social assistance on horizontal inequalities. The persistent and pervasive levels of poverty among children highlight policy gaps that need to be addressed.

#### Keywords

Inequalities; Sustainable Development Goals; South Africa; social protection

### Rewiring the Social Contract: Digital Taxis and Economic Inclusion in Nigeria

Kate Meagher (London School of Economics and Political Science)

The rise of digital on-demand employment, often referred to as the “gig economy”, offers a potential solution to the complex employment challenges of contemporary Africa, characterized by high levels of informality, unemployment and rapid

population growth. Digital employment has been accompanied by calls for a new social contract suited to the flexible working conditions of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This paper looks beyond the hype to explore how the gig economy is reshaping livelihood opportunities and reformatting processes of social and economic inclusion among digital taxi drivers in Nigeria. Do proposed changes in the social contract address the problems of precarity and disaffection among Nigerian digital taxi drivers, or do they consolidate a new regime of accumulation around the digital incorporation of precarious labour? The paper examines the quality of livelihoods created by the gig economy, and the limitations of digital employment in promoting sustainable livelihoods and the public good. The case study will inform a consideration of whether the prevailing vision of a new social contract represents a mechanism of economic inclusion or adverse incorporation for Nigeria’s informal labour force, and refocus attention on the requirements for a more inclusive social contract.

#### Keywords

Nigeria; informalization; gig economy; social contract

### Challenging Elite Capital Control Through New Forms of Cooperation: The Case of Small-Scale Fishers in the Coromandel Coast, Tamil Nadu

Nitya Rao (University of East Anglia), Renganathan Manimohan (Fisheries Management Resource Centre)

This paper explores new forms of cooperation emerging among small-scale fishermen in the east coast of Tamil Nadu, as responses to wider transformations in fisheries and coastal landscapes. Increased competition for limited, open access resources has pushed towards a greater capitalization of fisheries, with those able to invest reaping benefits and others reduced to a labouring class. In order to retain their status as fishers rather than labourers, and gain a voice in decision-making structures dominated by traditional elites, several men, especially younger men, have been experimenting with new forms of cooperation involving the shared ownership of large boats, engines and other modern technologies. In the process, one finds shifts in class, caste, gender and generational roles, relations and identities. Based on data collected from a survey of 200 households and in-depth interviews with about 20 households in Cuddalore district of Tamil Nadu, we explore the processes of negotiation and renegotiation of both gender and class identities, and their intersections. How are new institutional practices and forms of cooperation (and conflict) enabling a more equitable sharing of resources and benefits, and in which ways are they further entrenching inequalities? What are the possibilities for sustaining and further developing progressive alliances for social change?

#### Keywords

Elite capital; cooperation; shares; Tamil Nadu; fisheries

## Brazil's Economic Upsurge in the 2000s: The Rise of a "New" Middle Class or the Fragmentation of the Working Class?

Carla Beatriz de Paulo (University of Brasilia)

Because of the economic upsurge in the 2000s, part of Brazil's working class started accessing durable goods and private services that had been historically inaccessible to them. This was interpreted by segments of the government and academia as a shift in class structure, and thus seen as the rise of a "new" middle class in Brazil that was less dependent on public services. This would then allow the state to restrict its role to regulating private services and providing public services to the poorest. This study suggests that interpreting this income shift as the rise of a "new" middle class is not only incorrect, but also potentially harmful to social change, since it incites fragmentation and disengagement within the working class. Alternatively, it argues that those who benefited from the income shift are a fragment of the working class and far more dependent on state social services than advocates of the new middle class thesis suggest. In order to better understand this phenomenon, this study seeks to investigate the level of access to health and education services of those in this income range. The results obtained through data analysis reveal the predominant use of public health and education services by "new" middle class in 2008 and 2013, respectively.

### Keywords

Working class; middle class; social services; health; education

## Le processus d'appauvrissement des classes moyennes en Haïti et ses conséquences économiques et sociales

Alrich Nicolas (Université d'Etat d'Haïti)

Le mouvement social en Haïti pâtit depuis plusieurs décennies de l'absence d'un acteur majeur, les classes moyennes, dont l'appauvrissement et le déclin sont en train de donner naissance à d'importantes mutations sociales, économiques et politiques dans ce pays. L'action combinée des politiques néolibérales appliquées en Haïti et la récurrence des catastrophes naturelles ont conduit à la décapitalisation et à l'appauvrissement des classes moyennes. Le déclin des classes moyennes a facilité l'accès des élites économiques au contrôle des institutions étatiques. Ceci a contribué à délégitimer l'Etat aux yeux des populations, à réduire considérablement l'influence des classes moyennes dans la définition de politiques publiques et à faire reculer le mouvement social.

### Keywords

Classe moyenne; perte de légitimité de l'Etat; recul du mouvement social

### SESSION 4A.



## Cities for Whom? Causes and Consequences of Urban Socio-Spatial Inequalities

### The Spatial Face of Inequality: Mobility and the Impact of Neoliberal Policies on Transportation Infrastructure in Paraná, Brazil

Gustavo Glodes Blum (Centro Universitário Curitiba)

To face the challenges of the contemporary world, one must understand inequality as a multifaceted issue. Policy makers, academics and international organizations have brought forward the issue over the last decades. I argue that the debate on inequality must expand beyond its perspective on income and opportunities and include the role of mobility. For such, I present the case of the state of Paraná, in the southern part of Brazil, and its Logistical Network Infrastructure Management. As a part of the *Anel da Integração* (Integration Ring) Project, the state administration conceded the management of the state's main highways to the private sector in the late 1990s. From that moment on, this project created a structural difference between elites, who can pay for the expensive toll fees, and regular people, who, while depending on the mobility that those roads bring to them, cannot afford the fees.

### Keywords

Space; inequality; mobility; Paraná; *Anel da Integração* Project; neoliberalism

### Women's Changing Assets and the Spatialities of Gender and Poverty from Squatter Settlement into Mass Housing: A Case Study from Turkey

Imren Borsuk Eroglu (Stockholm University Institute for Turkish Studies)

This study will analyse how slum development projects that relocate the residents from inner city squatter settlements into peripheral mass housing areas impact the spatialities of gender and poverty. It will do so by examining women's changing assets based on research by the Kadifekale Urban Transformation Project (KUTP) in Turkey. The research shows that slum development projects that remain limited to physical upgrading weaken the capacity of low-income women to accumulate assets that allow them to escape from poverty. They also enhance their domesticity inside the home and family, reducing their possibilities to work outside the home and increasing women's care responsibilities. Although the increased expenses of the mass housing estate and "modern" apartment life propel low-income women to participate in the labour force and to consume according to the capitalist socio-spatiality, women have become more vulnerable to impoverishment and a rising sense of isolation. As a result, gendered spaces and the feminization of poverty result not only from the established socio-spatial practices but also from spatial intervention strategies that are top-down and not participatory.

### Keywords

Space; poverty; gender; slums; urban transformation

## Intergenerational Relations, Socioeconomic Fracturing and Cultural Marginalization: Spatializing the Processes that Compound Inequalities

Julie MacLeavy (University of Bristol), David Manley (University of Bristol)

This paper explores the intergenerational transmission of inequalities from a geographical perspective. Using a multi-scalar approach that is sensitive to the interconnectedness and complexity of intergenerational (dis)continuities across different sites and scales, the paper offers insight into the production and reinforcement of spatial divides between and within population groups. It outlines how transfers of wealth, as well as broader social and cultural factors, enable more advantaged members of society to isolate themselves in the most privileged locations, whilst those from disadvantaged backgrounds are relegated to areas of deprivation. It starts with national level quantitative studies of residential segregation and provides nuance through meso- and micro-level qualitative research. In doing so, it reveals a series of socio-spatial processes that ensure economic positions are reproduced in circles of inheritances at all levels, with little overall change or chance of betterment. Against this background, the paper explores the role of demographic factors in further stratifying geographical and historical place-specific outcomes. The aim is to compare and link inherited disadvantage to intersectional inequalities based on gender, sexuality, race/ethnicity, age, disability and religion. Developing an understanding of the intergenerational processes that refract stratification processes is seen as vital to understanding the continual rise in inequalities across the West.

### Keywords

Inequality; intergenerational relations; intersectionality; residential segregation; social mobility

## The Olympic legacy of Rio 2016: A City for Whom?

Adriana Portella (Federal University of Pelotas), Gisele Pereira (Federal University of Pelotas)

This research analysed the urban and social legacy of the 2016 Olympic Games in Brazil. The objective is to provide a critical analysis through the narratives of residents and stakeholders about the way the removals were happening in the city together with the urban planning strategies, and whether those actions benefited the population across social classes. This study discusses the concepts of mega-event, gentrification, and housing rights. Qualitative methods were applied to analyse the perception of residents regarding the improvements that the Olympics brought to the quality of life introduced into their neighbourhoods. Technical visits, behavioural observations and face-to-face interviews with people who live in areas of intervention and gentrification and with stakeholders involved in the urban projects were conducted. The results found indicate a questionable scenario of what Rio's sustainable candidature for the Olympic Games should be; also, they demonstrate a lack of commitment of stakeholders towards the social inclusion of local residents in the intervention areas. It is hoped that this work will yield new approaches and debates about what happened in the city's urban fabric as a result of the 2016 Olympics, in order to learn lessons for future host cities for mega-sport events.

### Keywords

Gentrification; resilience; removal; social exclusion

### SESSION 4B

## Between Climate Justice and Social Exclusion: Towards an Eco-Social Approach

### Persistence of Poverty in an Indigenous Community in Southern India: Bringing Agrarian Environment to the Centre of Poverty Analysis

Sudheesh Ramapurath Chemmencheri (University of Oxford)

The Sustainable Development Goals have a strong ecological focus. This paper draws attention to the need for centring the agrarian environment in poverty analysis and development policy making. Through an ethnographic enquiry into the persistence of poverty among the landless Paniya indigenous community in the southern Indian state of Kerala, this paper tries to understand the community's negotiations with changes in the agrarian environment. The Paniyas appear to be losing out on livelihood strategies and adaptation measures on multiple fronts. The multi-directionality of the impact of agrarian environmental changes places them at the intersection of multiple insecurities. I follow Paniya households in their quest to find alternative livelihoods in the wake of rapid deagrarianization in Kerala and emerging new forms of wealth accumulation by socially affluent communities. I also follow them in sites of migration in the villages of the neighbouring state of Karnataka, where they are fast being replaced by cheaper labour. Fieldwork in sites of land redistribution show that receiving land does not necessarily work towards lifting them out of immiseration. These multi-directional trends suggest the need for a rethinking of development policy making that accounts for the slow, incremental and often intangible impacts of agrarian environmental changes on the lives and livelihoods of the poor.

### Keywords

Agrarian change; indigenous peoples; land; poverty; Sustainable Development Goals

### Two Decades under Windmills in La Venta, Mexico: from an Annoyance to a Blessing—for Some

Gerardo Torres Contreras (University of Sussex)

Scholarship touching on wind energy development in Mexico, especially in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, overlooks the long-term uneven social effects resulting from this industry at the local level. This paper seeks to analyse the process through which wind energy has exacerbated patterns of rural social differentiation in La Venta—the town where the first wind energy project in Latin America was established in 1994. This differentiation has happened between landowners, and between landowners and landless people. Concerning the former, wind energy rents have increased patterns of social differentiation because they rely on land inequalities. In relation to the latter, landless people have been affected by the growth of the urban economy and by new kinds of exploitations resulting from non-agricultural



labour. By analysing data on de-regularized land ownership in the *ejido*—land that was collectively redistributed after the Mexican Revolution—and by drawing on fieldwork interviews, I will show that land has been concentrated in a few hands and that there has been a gradual productive shift from agriculture to cattle grazing activities. Asymmetric wind energy rents not only reinforce this trend but also result in different material and social relationships with wind energy and actors benefiting from it in various ways—or not.

#### Keywords

Wind energy; social differentiation; Isthmus of Tehuantepec; Mexico

## Desigualdades en la Gobernanza del Agua en un Contexto de Extractivismo Minero: el Caso de la Cuenca Alta Rio Locumba (Tacna, Perú)

Diego Geng (Pontifical Catholic University of Peru)

En las últimas dos décadas, la Gestión Integrada de los Recursos Hídricos (GIRH) se ha posicionado como un modelo global que ofrece equidad, eficiencia y sostenibilidad en el uso del agua, fomentando la participación de todos los involucrados. En el Perú, con el apoyo del Banco Mundial, el Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo y otras organizaciones internacionales y nacionales, el cambio institucional hacia la GIRH se puso en marcha, con resultados poco alentadores respecto a la participación, la eficiencia en el uso del agua y la resolución de conflictos. La presente investigación propone analizar el cambio del modelo de gobernanza del agua en la cuenca del río Locumba, donde una de las mayores minas de cobre del mundo (Southern Copper Corporation) ha transformado el espacio y las fuentes de agua, lo que ha traído beneficios económicos, pero también grandes impactos ambientales y sociales que han derivado en desigualdades y conflictos. La hipótesis de este trabajo es que ni las reformas ni los funcionarios que las promueven escapan de una visión técnica de la gestión del agua, dado que los objetivos de la GIRH en el Perú no buscan generar más equidad, sino viabilizar y legitimar las industrias extractivas.

#### Palabras clave

Gobernanza del agua; industrias extractivas; desigualdades socio-ecológicas; Perú

## Exploring the Relationship Between Environmental Governance, Social Inequalities and Politics of Exclusion: Evidence from the Niger Delta, Nigeria

Iwebunor Okwechime (Obafemi Awolowo University)

This paper argues that the crisis of environmental governance in Nigeria's oil-belt, as one important driver of social inequalities and exclusion in the Niger Delta region, has implied ramifications for the people in terms of power relations, livelihoods, ecological sustainability, land (and water) ownership and access (or lack of it) to basic services and infrastructure. Over the past decades the exploitation of crude oil by a transnational coalition of the Nigerian state and

oil companies has laid waste to the oil-rich but ecologically fragile Niger Delta environment with serious consequences for the people and their local economy which is predominantly based on fishing and farming. For example, women play a dominant role in the economy of the Niger Delta. A majority of them derive their sustenance from farming, fishing and trading, all of which have been virtually rendered extinct by oil industry activities. Being deprived of access to environmental resources (land and water) which have the major sources of income for the people, especially women, the majority of whom are the breadwinners of the family, exacerbates social inequalities and exclusion, which, in turn, breeds conflict between the local forces of resistance on the one hand, and the Nigerian state and its global allies, the oil companies, on the other. The paper highlights how the crisis of environmental governance in the Niger Delta has thrown up the citizenship question, with serious implications for the corporate existence of the Nigerian state.

#### Keywords

Environmental governance; social inequalities; politics of exclusion; Niger Delta; Nigeria

## Negotiating a Failing City: An Ethnographic Account of Flood Adaptation in Mumbai

Kalyani Jayasankar (Princeton University)

Mumbai is one of the cities most vulnerable to the effects of flooding, heightened by the effects of climate change. In Mumbai, flooding occurs during the monsoon and is exacerbated by high construction density, inadequate drainage systems, and a substantial socio-economically vulnerable population. Through ethnographic fieldwork in a flood-prone neighbourhood in Mumbai-Kalina, this paper asks: How do residents of these neighbourhoods cope with repeated flooding based on their access to resources, perception of risk and other factors? Using the lens of environmental inequality and differential vulnerability, it follows families from various socio-economic backgrounds in Mumbai as they negotiate flooding during two monsoons. Additionally, it employs oral histories of the monsoon of 2005, when the city broke a 100-year record, receiving 946 mm of rain in 36 hours. This paper also examines the role of real estate developers and how residents' decisions occur against the backdrop of declining state intervention. It suggests that durable inequities based on class and caste mediate responses to flooding. Further, given the context of a shrinking welfare state, real estate developers replace the state as significant actors who have the power to redress the grievances and problems of citizens subjected to chronic flooding.

#### Keywords

Environmental inequality; climate change; adaptation

## SESSION 5A



## Towards Transformative Public Policy: Undermining Elite Power through Local Collaboration and Social Mobilization

### Regulating the Regulators: Tracing the Emergence of the Political Transparency Laws in Chile

Bettina Schorr (Free University of Berlin)

Due to high social inequalities and weak public institutions, political corruption and the influence of business elites on policy makers are widespread in the Andean region. The consequences for sustainable development are serious: regulation limiting harmful business activities or (re-)distributive reforms are difficult to achieve and public resources often end up as private gains instead of serving development purposes. Given international and domestic pressures, political corruption has reached the top of the political agendas in many countries. However, frequently transparency goals do not materialize into new binding policies or, when reforms are enacted, they suffer from severe implementation gaps. The paper analyses transparency politics in Chile where a series of reforms regarding political transparency have been implemented since 2014. Hence, Chile counts among the few successful cases in the region. By tracing the process that led to the emergence of new transparency policies in Chile, the paper elaborates an analytical framework for the explanation of institutional innovation in the case of political transparency. In particular, the study emphasizes the importance of civil society actors' involvement in the whole policy cycle, particularly in the stages of formulation, implementation and evaluation.

#### Keywords

Political transparency; public policy; Chile; Andean region; civil society

### The Political Economy of the Agri-Food System in Thailand: Power, Accumulation and the Search for Sustainability

Prapimphan Chiengkul (Thammasat University)

This paper argues that the mainstream agricultural and food system in Thailand is characterized by unequal relations and ecological unsustainability. Transnational actors, the Thai state and agri-businesses have played important roles in establishing and maintaining this hegemonic agri-food system so that it mainly aids capital accumulation. Nevertheless, the hegemonic agri-food system has been consistently challenged by counter-hegemonic forces at ideational, institutional and material levels, such as by the sustainable agriculture movement (SAM) in Thailand. This paper also argues that promoting an alternatively, more equitable and sustainable agri-food system at broader scales requires supportive policies at the state level. The Thai political system, however, is defined by highly centralized and concentrated political

economic power as well as patron-client relations, not to mention co-optation attempts and polarized politics, which continue to hinder counter-hegemonic alternatives. Despite some limited counter-hegemonic successes, recent Pracha-raat agricultural policies have massively increased the power of large agri-businesses and reinforced the hegemonic agri-food system. This points to an urgent need for the SAM and other like-minded counter-hegemonic movements to rethink and revitalise their efforts, perhaps by forming a new progressive green economy agenda that will receive broad-based support from wider society.

#### Keywords

Corporate agri-food system; sustainable agriculture; Thai state; agri-business

### Combatiendo la exclusión socioespacial: aprendiendo de recientes políticas públicas de vivienda digna en el Norte y Sur Global

Borja M. Iglesias (Universitat de Lleida DUOT y UPC BarcelonaTech)

El presente artículo sitúa la vivienda pública (y su espacio público) en el centro del marco político del derecho a la ciudad. Para ello son analizados varios contextos y experiencias con el objetivo de generar un enfoque coherente a las diferentes velocidades que afronta la implementación de la Nueva Agenda Urbana: 1) En el Norte Global, analizando la experiencia en la gestión de políticas públicas de vivienda por parte de municipios turísticos de altos ingresos de los Pirineos catalanes; 2) en una economía emergente de ingresos medios como Colombia, analizando las políticas de Vivienda de Interés Social en las ciudades intermedias de Neiva, Ibagué, Sincelejo y Popayán; y 3) en el Sur Global, analizando las paradojas entre las políticas urbanas nacionales, la urbanización informal y los intereses de China en una megaciudad subsahariana como Luanda (Angola). En el horizonte, el reconocimiento a la extrema dificultad que supone proporcionar una vivienda digna a la población urbana más vulnerable y que, al mismo tiempo, puede garantizar el derecho a la ciudad a través de la superación definitiva de la exclusión social y espacial. Desde un pequeño pueblo, pasando por ciudades intermedias y terminando en una megaciudad, el derecho a la ciudad parece condicionado al fortalecimiento del papel de las ciudades intermedias y sus vínculos urbano-rurales como elementos clave para reducir las migraciones desde áreas rurales que amenazan con hacer insostenible el crecimiento urbano en las megaciudades de bajos ingresos del Sur Global. Pensar globalmente, actuando localmente pero implementando a escala regional.

#### Palabras clave

Vivienda social; derecho a la ciudad; urbanización informal; ciudad intermedia

### City-to-City Cooperation and the Promise of a Democratic “Right to the City”

Fritz Nganje (University of Johannesburg)

In this paper, I draw on the example of partnerships between Brazilian and Mozambican cities to critique attempts to democratize urban governance and development through city-to-city cooperation. As an expression of the notion of

technical cooperation among developing countries, city-to-city cooperation in the global South has the potential to catalyse inclusive urban governance and development by exposing local authorities and communities to useful experiences, best practices and innovative ideas. However, I argue that the predominantly technocratic and depoliticized approach to city-to-city cooperation, reflected in the exchanges between Brazilian cities and their Mozambican counterparts, is incapable of inducing the kind of urban transformation inspired by Henri Lefebvre's notion of a right to the city. When city partnerships are designed and implemented in a manner that fails to challenge unequal power relations, the urban elite tend to use their position as gatekeepers of the institutional landscape of cities to determine which foreign ideas are localized and how, undermining the transformative potential of city-to-city cooperation. In worse cases, city-to-city cooperation can become a tool to reinforce the disenfranchisement of marginalized urban communities. I conclude the paper by making the case for repoliticizing city-to-city cooperation in the global South in order to unlock its transformative capacity.

#### Keywords

Right to the city; city-to-city cooperation; South-South cooperation; decentralized cooperation; inclusive urban development

## The Dynamics of Redistributive Social Policy in Latin America: Collective Mobilizations, Political Allies and Institutions

Rossella Ciccica (Queen's University Belfast), César Guzmán-Concha (Scuola Normale Superiore)

Latin America remains the most unequal region in the world despite a long history of welfare state development. The first social protection schemes in the 1920-40s were restricted to a small number of politically influential groups (for example, military, civil servants), but a progressive turn toward more inclusive social policies in the 2000s has extended coverage to low-income households, informal and rural workers. Comparative analyses of social policy expansion in Latin America highlight the importance of political factors such as democratic legacies and left-wing party involvement, but several case studies have also observed an effect of extra-institutional forms of political participation routinely used by citizens to express their discontent and influence governments. The aim of this paper is to explore the determinants of universalistic social policies in 18 Latin American countries starting from the 2000s taking into account social mobilization, politics and socio-economic institutions. The analysis focuses on two sectors—social assistance (*programas de transferencias condicionadas*, *pensiones sociales*) and healthcare—which in contrast to social security programmes target outsiders, that is, individuals out of formal employment and not covered by contributory social insurance.

#### Keywords

Social policy; social assistance; outsiders; inequality; protest; Latin America

#### SESSION 5B

## Actors, Alliances and Strategies for a New Social Compact

### Othering and Solidarity in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Agrarian California: What Can We Learn About Efforts to Create Cross-Sector Alliances for Progressive Political Change?

Antonio Roman-Alcalá (International Institute of Social Studies)

In the context of multiple and converging political, economic and environmental crises, agrarian and rural movements in the United States continue to contest elite power and their own marginalization. Black agrarians, indigenous people and migrant farmworkers are groups that have historically been “Othered”—undermined in their humanity in order to maintain group-based social stratification—and this Othering continues to shape US politics nationally. This paper seeks to understand through historical research and conceptualization how movements composed of Others have sought to counter Othering. In focusing on acts of solidarity as key features of success, the paper outlines three major strategies which movements have taken: assimilation, valorization and differencing. Through historical vignettes from 20<sup>th</sup> century California involving the aforementioned and related groups, the paper unpacks how assimilation, valorization and differencing have intersected with Othering and solidarity, and from this what lessons might help researchers and activists better grasp the dynamics of change over time. It finds that assimilation and valorization are helpful but insufficient to ensure change, as they do not enlarge the circle of “we” as is necessary to mount successful challenges to elite power. Differencing, in contrast, is the pivotal strategy to counter Othering amongst various Others and overcome lines of difference between them.

#### Keywords

Othering; solidarity; California; United States; social movements

### Informal Workers Co-Producing Social Services in the Global South: Task Shifting or Political Strategy towards a New Social Contract?

Laura Alfes (Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing, and Rhodes University)

This paper is concerned with how organizations of informal workers—a specific type of social movement—are attempting to influence the provision of health services from below. The study offers a new perspective for several reasons: firstly, social policy scholarship tends to be dominated by institutionalist approaches which favour top-down explanations of policy development; and secondly, while there has been a growing academic focus on organizing in the informal economy and the interactions between the state and informal workers, very little of this has had an explicit focus on social policy. This paper focuses at the level where national or local social policies and practices of the state meet the ground, and where these are

contested, engaged with, and transformed by informal workers. It looks particularly at how informal workers' organizations have become involved in the provision of social services—something that is often termed “co-production.” Debates on the co-production of services within social policy have been dominated by the debate about task shifting onto poorer women, overburdening them with unpaid care work and low-paid work. The paper examines the tension between this concern, and a less considered aspect of co-production: the way it is being used by organizations as a political strategy—as a means by which to shift relations of power between the state, owners of capital and poorer informal women worker-citizens, to influence the shape and nature of policy, and ultimately to re-imagine a social compact for the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

**Keywords**

Health service; social movements; informal workers; co-production; political strategy

## Entangled Inequalities and Network Building: Organizational Experiences of Paid Domestic Workers in Uruguay and Paraguay

Raquel Rojas Scheffer (Free University of Berlin)

This paper focuses on paid domestic workers' organizations and the networks they build with different types of actors within and across national borders. More specifically, my interest lies in analysing how the entanglements of different axes, dimensions and scales of inequality that cut across this occupational field shape these networks. The research is based on two in-depth case studies that reconstruct the development of domestic workers' organizations and the introduction of their claims into the political agenda at a national level from 2005 onwards, which linked them to a broader transnational context. Analysing data from interviews, participant observations, press articles and materials produced by the workers' organizations and their allies, the paper discusses how structural and contextual particularities shape the organizational experiences of domestic workers, as well as their outcomes.

**Keywords**

Paid domestic work; inequalities; social mobilization; cross-organizational networking; cross-border coalitions

## Inequidades en la realización del derecho a la salud en el mundo del trabajo en Colombia: caminos para su superación desde la movilización social de las y los trabajadores

Mauricio Torres-Tovar (National University of Colombia)

In Colombia, the General System of Labor Risks (SGRL) covers the formal labor market population, leaving out informal workers, which constitute more than 50

percent of the country's labor force. This situation generates inequality. Formal workers affiliated to the SGRL are entitled to medical and economic benefits in case of work-related injury or occupational disease, while those in the informal sector do not have access to the same protections. Moreover, the SGRL creates inequalities and injustices by denying groups of formal workers who develop labor-originated pathologies recognition of those illnesses, which in some cases might lead workers to lose their jobs. This qualitative research approaches the problem of inequities in the field of health at work by reaching out to a set of associations of workers and former workers suffering from work-related sickness, who have organized to demand the protection of their job, health and social security rights. This collective action of workers has proposed elements to create policies at the company and state level, which protect the right to health at work, from a comprehensive and universal vision that contributes to overcoming inequities and injustices in these aspects.

**Keywords**

Inequities; right to health at work; world of work; social mobilization; Colombia

## Creative Coalitions in a Fractured World: An Opportunity for Transformative Change?

Gabriele Köhler (Independent Researcher)

As citizens, as activists and as analysts, we are alarmed by ever-increasing political, social, economic and climate inequalities and intensifying obstacles vis-à-vis the promises of the UN's 2030 Agenda. Policy retrogression is undermining transformation towards economic, social and climate justice. The growing fractures are ultimately caused by the structures and trends of the economic system, both at national and global levels, a system that can be described as “unfettered capitalism”. It is splitting traditional working class and middle class alliances, and immobilizing government decisions in favour of redistribution and social justice: the social contract of democratic welfare statism is under threat. However, one also observes counter-currents of resistance. Hitherto siloed activist communities are coalescing in the form of “creative” coalitions. Anecdotal examples, collected from the global North, include movements for climate justice, refugee rights, gender justice and wider civil rights. The paper discusses their commonalities, strengths and their shortcomings, and asks whether these creative coalitions could counter the power of economic interests and retrogressive government policies. It argues that they need to be further analysed, using innovative research approaches. This could help identify the chances of and pathways for transformative change towards a new social contract and an eco-social welfare state.

**Keywords**

2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development; inequalities; climate change; eco-social welfare state; creative coalitions



## LAURA ALFERS

Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing, and Rhodes University



Laura Alferts is Director of Social Protection at the global action-research-policy network Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO), and is a Research Associate in the Department of Sociology, Rhodes University. Her research interests sit at the intersections of labour, urban and social policy with a focus on understanding how organizations of informal workers are working to influence those policies. She is a co-editor, with Jim Midgley and Rebecca Surender, of the forthcoming *Handbook of Social Policy and Development* (Elgar).

Email: [laura.alfers@wiego.org](mailto:laura.alfers@wiego.org)

## MI YOUNG AN

Kookmin University



Mi Young An is Associate Professor in the Department of Public Administration at Kookmin University, Republic of Korea. Her research interests centre on the analysis of social policy with a particular focus on gender, family and care.

Email: [myan@kookmin.ac.kr](mailto:myan@kookmin.ac.kr)

## ROWLAND ATKINSON

University of Sheffield



Rowland Atkinson is an urban sociologist and Chair in Inclusive Societies at the University of Sheffield. His interests have tended to focus on the urban and spatial consequences of social divisions. These interests have generated work focusing on household displacement from gentrification, social exclusion and housing policy interventions, and the rise of gated communities. Most recently, his work has focused on the impact of wealth and the wealthy on urban life.

Contact: [@qurbanist](https://twitter.com/qurbanist)

## YUSUF BANGURA

UNRISD



Yusuf Bangura was Senior Research Coordinator at UNRISD from 1990 to 2012 and lead author of the Institute's 2010 flagship report *Combating Poverty and Inequality: Structural Change, Social Policy and Politics*. His most recent publications include *Developmental Pathways to Poverty Reduction* (edited, Palgrave Macmillan and UNRISD, 2015); and 'Bargaining for Development: The World Bank's 2017 World Development Report, Governance and the Law', *Development and Change*, March 2018.

Email: [Bangura.y@gmail.com](mailto:Bangura.y@gmail.com)

## FRANÇOIS BOURGUIGNON

Paris School of Economics



François Bourguignon is Emeritus Professor of Economics and was the Director of the Paris School of Economics from 2007 to 2013. Previous roles include Chief Economist and Senior Vice-President of the World Bank in Washington DC and Professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris. His work bears mainly on the distribution and redistribution of income in developed and developing countries.

Email: [francois.bourguignon@psemail.eu](mailto:francois.bourguignon@psemail.eu)

## PRAPIMPAN CHIENKUL

Thammasat University



Prapimphan Chiengkul is a Lecturer at the Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University in Thailand. Her research interests include the international political economy of development and progressive green politics. She is the author of *The Political Economy of the Agri-Food System in Thailand: Hegemony, Counter-Hegemony, and Co-Optation of Oppositions* (Routledge, 2017).

Email: [prapimphanchiengkul@hotmail.com](mailto:prapimphanchiengkul@hotmail.com)

## ROSSELLA CICCIA

Queen's University Belfast



Rossella Ciccía is a Lecturer at Queen's University Belfast, UK and Marie-Sklodowska Curie Fellow, Scuola Normale Superiore. Recent publications include "Gendering welfare state analysis: tensions between care and paid work", *European Journal of Gender and Politics*, 1(1-2):93-109 (with Diane Sainsbury).

Email: [r.ciccía@qub.ac.uk](mailto:r.ciccía@qub.ac.uk)

## JORGE ATRIA CURI

Universidad Mayor



Jorge Atria is Assistant Professor at the Centre of Economics and Political Sciences at Universidad Mayor, Chile. He is also Associate Researcher at the Centre of Conflict and Social Cohesion Studies (COES) in Chile. His research areas include fiscal and economic sociology with emphasis on taxation, elites and inequality. In 2018 he co-edited the book *Rethinking Taxation in Latin America: Reform and challenges in times of uncertainty* (Palgrave Macmillan).

Email: [jorge.atria@umayor.cl](mailto:jorge.atria@umayor.cl)

**JULIÁN CÁRDENAS**

Free University of Berlin



Julián Cárdenas is currently a Lecturer at the Alice-Salomon University, Berlin, Germany, and an Associate Researcher at the Freie Universität Berlin. He is co-editor of the *Revista Española de Sociología*.

Email: [julian.cardenas@onlinebschool.com](mailto:julian.cardenas@onlinebschool.com)

**LARS-ERIK CEDERMAN**

Swiss Federal Institute of Technology



Lars-Erik Cederman is Professor of International Conflict Research at ETH Zurich, Switzerland and co-author of the forthcoming book *Sharing power, securing peace?* (Cambridge University Press).

Email: [lcederman@ethz.ch](mailto:lcederman@ethz.ch)

**ROBERTO ROCHA COELHO PIRES**

Institute for Applied Economic Research



Roberto Rocha Coelho Pires is a Researcher at the Institute for Applied Economic Research (IPEA) in Brasilia, Brazil. His main research interests include policy implementation, bureaucracy, and state-society relations.

Email: [roberto.pires@ipea.gov.br](mailto:roberto.pires@ipea.gov.br)

**EMMA LYNN DADAP-CANTAL**

Erasmus University



Emma Lynn Dadap-Cantal is a PhD student at the International Institute of Social Studies at the Erasmus University in the Netherlands. Her dissertation is a comparative case study of the political economy of social protection in Cambodia and the Philippines, particularly exploring the ways by which donors and external actors shape the social provisioning systems in the two countries.

Email: [cantal@iss.nl](mailto:cantal@iss.nl)

**MICHAEL DANQUAH**

University of Ghana



Michael Danquah is Senior Lecturer at the Department of Economics, University of Ghana, Legon, and a Research Fellow at the Transfer Project. He is also an International Growth Centre (IGC) researcher and was recently selected as a Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre for the

Study of African Economies (CSAE), Department of Economics, University of Oxford, UK. His research interest is in economic development in sub-Saharan Africa and he has published extensively on issues such as informality, inequality and poverty reduction, and productivity growth.

Email: [mdanquah@ug.edu.gh](mailto:mdanquah@ug.edu.gh)

**CARLA BEATRIZ DE PAULO**

Ministry of Social Development, Brazil



Carla Beatriz de Paulo holds a Master's degree in social policy from the University of Brasilia and has worked for the Brazilian Government since 2011. She is currently General Coordinator in the Ministry of Social Development.

Email: [carlab87@gmail.com](mailto:carlab87@gmail.com)

**IMREN BORSUK EROGLU**

Stockholm University



Imren Borsuk Eroglu is a post-doctoral scholar at Stockholm University Institute for Turkish Studies. Her main research interests are ethnic conflicts, conflict resolution processes and the socio-spatial dimensions of ethnic conflicts. Her most recent publication is "Displacement and Asset Transformation from Squatter Settlement to Mass Housing: A Case Study from Turkey." *European Urban and Regional Studies* (forthcoming with Ensari Eroglu).

Email: [imren.borsuk@gmail.com](mailto:imren.borsuk@gmail.com)

**VALERIA ESQUIVEL**

International Labour Office (ILO)



Valeria Esquivel is Employment Policies and Gender Specialist at the ILO and was previously Research Coordinator on Gender and Development at UNRISD. She authored the chapter "Care Policies: Realizing their Transformative Potential", in *Policy Innovations for Transformative Change* (UNRISD, 2016), and is co-author of *Innovations in Care: New Concepts, New Actors, New Policies* (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and UNRISD, 2017) and of the recent report *Care Work and Care Jobs for the Future of Decent Work* (ILO, 2018).

Email: [esquivelv@ilo.org](mailto:esquivelv@ilo.org)

**IMOGEN FOULKES**

BBC Correspondent in Geneva



Imogen Foulkes has traveled widely throughout her career, reporting on human rights work in Tunisia, on health care in danger in Colombia, and on refugee issues in former Yugoslavia. Prior to working for the BBC she was a correspondent for Swiss Radio International, where she reported on the conflicts in former Yugoslavia. She is a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, and of Stanford University.

Contact: [@ImogenFoulkes](https://twitter.com/ImogenFoulkes)

**DIEGO GENG**

Pontifical Catholic University of Peru



Diego Geng is a doctoral student at Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú and holds a scholarship from trAndeS, a postgraduate programme on Sustainable Development and Inequalities in the Andean Region. His work focuses on water resources management, extractive industries and agriculture.

**GUSTAVO GLODES BLUM**

University Center Curitiba



Gustavo Glodes Blum is Assistant Professor at the International Relations Department of Centro Universitário Curitiba (UNICURITIBA) in Curitiba, Paraná, Brazil. He holds an MA in political geography and a BA in international relations, and he is interested in the debate on power, space, control and mobility in its various aspects.

Email: [blum.gustavo@hotmail.com](mailto:blum.gustavo@hotmail.com)

**LUNA GLUCKSBERG**

London School of Economics



Luna Glucksberg is a Research Fellow at the International Inequalities Institute (III) at the London School of Economics (LSE) where she works on inequality, elite reproduction, family offices and local wealth building strategies. She is widely published and her most recent work focuses on the intersections of gender, kinship and capital in the reproduction of dynastic elite families (Glucksberg, L. (2018) "A gendered ethnography of elites: women, inequality, and social reproduction" *Focaal* 81).

Email: [l.glucksberg@lse.ac.uk](mailto:l.glucksberg@lse.ac.uk)

**CÉSAR GUZMÁN-CONCHA**

Scuola Normale Superiore



César Guzmán-Concha is an independent researcher currently based in Florence. One of his latest publications is a chapter on protest and the politics of unemployment insurance in *Social Welfare Responses in a Neoliberal Era* (Brill, 2018) (with Rossella Ciccía).

Email: [cesarguz@gmail.com](mailto:cesarguz@gmail.com)

**ELLIOT HARRIS**

United Nations



Elliot Harris, from Trinidad and Tobago, is Assistant Secretary-General for Economic Development and Chief Economist and has over 25 years of international experience in the fields of international economics and development policy analysis, coupled with knowledge of the United Nations system, multilateral and inter-agency coordination processes. Prior to his current appointment, Elliot Harris served as Assistant Secretary-General and Head of the New York Office of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). Mr. Harris began his career in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1988.

Email: [harris3@un.org](mailto:harris3@un.org)

**SIMON HUG**

University of Geneva



Simon Hug is Professor of Political Science at the University of Geneva, Switzerland and co-author of the forthcoming book *Sharing power, securing peace?* (Cambridge University Press).

Email: [simon.hug@unige.ch](mailto:simon.hug@unige.ch)

**KATJA HUJO**

UNRISD



Katja Hujo is Senior Research Coordinator, and coordinator and lead author of the latest UNRISD flagship report *Policy Innovations for Transformative Change – Implementing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* (UNRISD, 2016). She has published numerous papers and articles, 1 monograph, 7 edited volumes, and 3 special journal issues, the most recent one with the International Social Security Review on *The Human Right to Social Security*.

Email: [katja.hujo@un.org](mailto:katja.hujo@un.org)

**BORJA M. IGLESIAS**

Network for Strengthening the Informal City



Borja M. Iglesias is an urban planner and PhD candidate at DUOT-UPC Barcelona Tech. He is also Senior Researcher at the UNESCO Chair in Intermediary Cities, founder and CEO of the Network for Strengthening the Informal City (NSIC), co-founder and CEO of the Agency for Rurban Integration (AVRA), and an external consultant and urban researcher at UCLG. He is co-author of the *GOLD IV Report* (UCLG, 2017) and has published several papers on urbanization processes in the Global South for CIDOB.

Email: [planning@nsic.pro](mailto:planning@nsic.pro)

**KALYANI MONTEIRO JAYASANKAR**

Princeton University



Kalyani Monteiro Jayasankar is a PhD candidate in the Department of Sociology at Princeton University. Her research interests lie broadly in cities and climate change.

Email: [kalyanij@princeton.edu](mailto:kalyanij@princeton.edu)

**RICHARD JOLLY**

Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex



Richard Jolly is Honorary Professor and Research Associate at IDS. He served the United Nations for over 20 years in various positions, including as Assistant Secretary-General, as Deputy-Executive Director for Programmes with UNICEF and as Special Coordinator of the Human Development Report with UNDP. He has written many publications and is a co-author of *Adjustment with a Human Face* (OUP, 1987) and *UN Ideas that Changed the World* (Indiana University Press, 2009), the final volume of the UN Intellectual History Project. He was knighted by the Queen in 2001 for his services to international development.

**NAILA KABEER**

London School of Economics and Political Science



Naila Kabeer is joint professor of Gender and Development at the Departments of International Development and Gender Studies at the London School of Economics. Her main focus of research is poverty, gender, labour markets, social protection and collective action. Her recent publications include *Organizing women in the informal economy: beyond the weapons of the weak* (Zed Press, 2013), *Gender, livelihood capabilities and women's economic empowerment: reviewing evidence over the life course* (Gage, 2018) and *Intersecting inequalities and the Sustainable Development Goals: Insights from Brazil* (UNU-WIDER, 2017; with Ricardo Santos). She is currently President of the International Association of Feminist Economics.

Email: [N.Kabeer@lse.ac.uk](mailto:N.Kabeer@lse.ac.uk)

**GABRIELE KÖHLER**

Independent Researcher



Gabriele Köhler is a development economist, currently an UNRISD Senior Research Associate. Her research and advocacy interests focus on policies for economic, social, gender and climate justice. She is lead editor of a UNESCO-MOST/CROP volume on the *Politics of Social Inclusion* (forthcoming 2019).

Email: [gabrielekoehler@posteo.de](mailto:gabrielekoehler@posteo.de)

**ROBERTO PATRICIO KORZENIEWICZ**

University of Maryland



Patricio Korzeniewicz is Chair and Professor of the Department of Sociology at the University of Maryland, USA. His book *Unveiling Inequality* (Russell Sage, 2009), co-written with Timothy P. Moran, won the 2010 Best Book Award from the "Political Economy of World Systems" Section of the American Sociological Association. His current research focuses on global patterns of income inequality, social stratification and mobility.

Email: [korzen@umd.edu](mailto:korzen@umd.edu)

**ALICE KROZER**

Colegio de México



Alice Krozer is currently a post-doctoral researcher at the Colegio de México's Social Inequalities Seminar. She has a PhD in development studies from the University of Cambridge, has been a visiting researcher at Stanford University, and has worked as a consultant for UN ECLAC and Oxfam, among others.

Contact: [@alicekrozer](mailto:@alicekrozer)

**PAUL LADD**

UNRISD



Paul Ladd became Director of UNRISD in October 2015. Before taking up this position he worked at UNDP, where he was director of the team supporting consultations and technical inputs for the 2030 Development Agenda and of the UNDP policy team on "inclusive globalization". Before moving to New York, Paul was a Policy Adviser on international development for the UK Treasury, Chief Economist and acting Head of Policy with UK charity Christian Aid, Economic Adviser at the UK Department for International Development and Financial Adviser with the Central Bank of Guyana.

Email: [paul.ladd@un.org](mailto:paul.ladd@un.org)



**TOM LAVERS**

University of Manchester



Tom Lavers is a Lecturer in politics and development at the Global Development Institute at the University of Manchester and a researcher in Manchester's Effective States and Inclusive Development (ESID) Research Centre. His research focuses on comparative political economy of development.

Email: [tom.lavers@manchester.ac.uk](mailto:tom.lavers@manchester.ac.uk)

**MAX LAWSON**

Oxfam GB



Max Lawson is Head of Inequality Policy at Oxfam and one of the authors of Oxfam's global reports on inequality.

Email: [max.lawson@oxfam.org](mailto:max.lawson@oxfam.org)

**JULIE MACLEAVY**

University of Bristol



Julie MacLeavy is a Reader at the School of Geographical Sciences, University of Bristol. Her research interests lie in the field of economic geography, particularly in debates around welfare reform, labour markets and neoliberal policy reform in contexts of austerity.

Email: [julie.macleavy@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:julie.macleavy@bristol.ac.uk)

**DAVID MANLEY**

University of Bristol



David Manley is Professor at the School of Geographical Sciences, University of Bristol and Honorary Fellow of OTB Research for the Built Environment, Delft University of Technology. He has written extensively on urban issues including segregation and contextual effects relating to place.

Email: [d.manley@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:d.manley@bristol.ac.uk)

**KATE MEAGHER**

London School of Economics



Kate Meagher is Associate Professor in Development Studies at the London School of Economics. She specializes in the study of African informal economies and development, focusing on the political economy of economic inclusion, and has authored a range of books and articles,

including *Globalization, Economic Inclusion and African Workers: Making the Right Connections* (Routledge, 2016), co-edited with L. Mann and M. Bolt.

Email: [k.meagher@lse.ac.uk](mailto:k.meagher@lse.ac.uk)

**GHAZALA MIR**

University of Leeds



Ghazala Mir is Associate Professor of Health Equity and Inclusion at Nuffield Centre for International Health and Development, University of Leeds, and Director of the Inequalities Research Network at Leeds Social Sciences Institute. Ghazala also leads the Socially Inclusive Cities Network, which has developed a future research agenda to inform the direction of RCUK research funding. The Network operates according to research principles published in Ghazala Mir, Sarah Salway, Joe Kai, Saffron Karlsen, Raj Bhopal, George TH Ellison, and Aziz Sheikh. 2012. "Principles for research on ethnicity and health: the Leeds Consensus Statement." *The European Journal of Public Health*, 23(3):504-510.

Email: [g.mir@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:g.mir@leeds.ac.uk)

**GRAZIELLA MORAES SILVA**

Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies



Graziella Moraes Silva is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Policies in Geneva, Switzerland and associated to the Interdisciplinary Network Research Network on Inequality (UFRJ, Brazil).

Email: [graziella.moraes@graduateinstitute.ch](mailto:graziella.moraes@graduateinstitute.ch)

**ANITA NAYAR**

Regions Refocus



Anita Nayar is Director of Regions Refocus, an initiative that fosters regional dialogues on progressive and feminist policies among civil society, governments, regional alliances and the UN. She has worked nationally and internationally on issues including women's human rights, economic globalization, development and climate justice. She previously served as Chief of the UN Non-Governmental Liaison Service in New York and on the Executive Committee of the South-based feminist network, Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN).

Email: [anita@regionsrefocus.org](mailto:anita@regionsrefocus.org)

**MEGAN TOBIAS NEELY**

Stanford University



Megan Tobias Neely is a Postdoctoral Fellow in sociology at Stanford University's Michelle R. Clayman Institute for Gender Research. Her research examines rising economic inequality in the United States through the lens of gender and race. Her current project is on the U.S. hedge fund industry, on which she recently published "Fit to Be King: How Patrimonialism on Wall Street Leads to Inequality," in *Socio-Economic Review*.

Email: [mtneely@stanford.edu](mailto:mtneely@stanford.edu)

**FRITZ NGANJE**

University of Johannesburg



Fritz Nganje is a lecturer in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Johannesburg. His primary research interest is in the foreign relations of subnational governments.

Email: [fnganje@uj.ac.za](mailto:fnganje@uj.ac.za)

**ALRICH NICOLAS**

State University of Haiti



Alrich Nicolas is Professor at the Faculty of Law and Economics at the State University of Haiti and Director of CHERIES (Haitian Centre for International Economic and Social Research). His main research interests are social protection, socio-economic transformations, international trade and regional integration.

Email: [rilach2002@yahoo.fr](mailto:rilach2002@yahoo.fr)

**IWEBUNOR OKWECHIME**

Obafemi Awolowo University



Iwebunor Okwechime is Senior Lecturer in International Relations at Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria, where he teaches courses on global environmental politics, international economic relations and the politics of energy resources. He recently co-edited *State, Governance and Security in Africa* (SokheChapke Publishing, 2016).

**BEN PHILLIPS**

Fight Inequality Alliance



Ben Phillips is Launch Director of the Fight Inequality Alliance, which brings diverse civil society organizations together to campaign for action on economic and social inequality. He has combined the roles of NGO director, civil society activist and writer. He has led programmes and campaigns in Oxfam, ActionAid, Save the Children, the Children's Society, the Global Call to Action Against Poverty and the Global Campaign for Education.

Contact: [@benphillips76](https://twitter.com/benphillips76)

**SOPHIE PLAGERSON**

University of Johannesburg



Sophie Plagerson is a Senior Researcher at the Centre for Social Development in Africa, at the University of Johannesburg. She holds a PhD in epidemiology from the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Research interests include social justice, social policy, welfare regime analysis, social protection, institutions that support intersectoral policy for social development, mental health, work/family policies.

Email: [splagerson@uj.ac.za](mailto:splagerson@uj.ac.za)

**JONAS PONTUSSON**

University of Geneva



Jonas Pontusson is Professor of Comparative Politics at the University of Geneva and principal investigator on a five-year research program financed by the European Research Council ([Advanced Grant 741538](#)).

**ADRIANA PORTELLA**

Federal University of Pelotas



Adriana Portella is Associate Professor at the Federal University of Pelotas in Brazil and Head of the Department of Architecture and Planning. Her main research interests are in urban design, social and gender inequalities, and ageing populations. Her major recent publications are the books *Insights on Favelas* (UFPeL 2018), and *Visual Pollution: Advertising, Signage and Environmental Quality* (Ashgate 2014).

Email: [adrianaportella@yahoo.com.br](mailto:adrianaportella@yahoo.com.br)

**GABRIELA RAMALHO TAFOYA**

University of Connecticut



Gabriela Ramalho Tafoya is a PhD student at the University of Connecticut and a Research Fellow in the Emerging Markets Welfare Project at Koç University, Istanbul, Turkey. Her dissertation examines the development of social welfare regimes across twenty countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, with an original, regionally comparable measure of welfare generosity that emphasizes the variety of social assistance programmes that have proliferated across the global South in recent years.

Email: [gabriela.tafoya@unconn.edu](mailto:gabriela.tafoya@unconn.edu); [gtafoya@ku.edu.tr](mailto:gtafoya@ku.edu.tr)

**SHALINI RANDERIA**

Institute for Human Sciences and Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies



Shalini Randeria is Rector of the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna, Professor of Social Anthropology and Sociology at the Graduate Institute, Geneva, as well as Director of the Albert Hirschman Centre on Democracy. Her research foci include the anthropology of law, state and policy, normative pluralism, reproductive rights, population policy and gender, displacement and privatization of common property resources, and civil society, social movements and NGOs.

Email: [randeria@iwm.at](mailto:randeria@iwm.at)

**NITYA RAO**

University of East Anglia



Nitya Rao is Professor of Gender and Development at the School of International Development, University of East Anglia, UK. With over 30 years' experience as a field-level practitioner, trainer, researcher and teacher, she has worked extensively in the fields of gendered land relations, food and nutrition security, migration, education and intra-household relations, and has published in a range of international journals.

Email: [n.rao@uea.ac.uk](mailto:n.rao@uea.ac.uk)

**FRANCISCO ROBLES-RIVERA**

Free University of Berlin



Francisco Robles-Rivera is a doctoral candidate at the Free University of Berlin. His main research has been focused on elites, media capture and campaign finance in Central America. He founded the Research Network for Latin American Elites Studies ([REAL – Red Elites América Latina](#)).

Email: [franroblescr@gmail.com](mailto:franroblescr@gmail.com)

**RAQUEL ROJAS SCHEFFER**

Free University of Berlin



Raquel Rojas Scheffer is a PhD candidate in sociology at the Free University of Berlin, Germany. Her main research interests are inequalities, social movements, labour relations and political systems. She is a co-author (with Marcello Lachi) of two recent books addressing social dialogue and political attitudes and practices in Paraguay: *Diálogo social, contratación colectiva y tripartismo en Paraguay* (Germinal/Arandurá, 2017) and *Correligionarios. Actitudes y prácticas políticas del electorado paraguayo* (Germinal/Arandurá, 2018).

Email: [raquelrojasscheffer@gmail.com](mailto:raquelrojasscheffer@gmail.com)

**ANTONIO ROMAN-ALCALÁ**

Erasmus University



Antonio Roman-Alcalá is a PhD researcher at the International Institute of Social Studies at the Erasmus University in the Netherlands, focusing on the political ecologies of US rural, agrarian, and food movements. As a scholar-activist, he focuses on participatory methods and strategic considerations for change-making, for example in a recent article in *Local Environment: The International Journal of Justice and Sustainability* (2018) and a chapter on the legitimacy of direct action to create land commons in the book *Land Justice: Re-imagining Land, Food, and the Commons in the United States* (Food First Books, 2017).

Email: [antidogmatist@gmail.com](mailto:antidogmatist@gmail.com)

**LOUISE RUSSELL-PRYWATA**

London School of Economics



Louise Russell-Prywata is Atlantic Fellow for Social and Economic Equity at the London School of Economics, where she is researching the financial influence of elite philanthropists. She is also Programme Manager at OpenOwnership, an initiative combining policy and technology to increase transparency over company ownership; prior to this she spent several years fundraising from philanthropists, most recently at Transparency International UK.

Email: [l.m.russell-prywata@lse.ac.uk](mailto:l.m.russell-prywata@lse.ac.uk)

**SASKIA SASSEN**

Columbia University



Saskia Sassen is Robert S. Lynd Professor of Sociology and Member of the Committee on Global Thought at Columbia University. Her research interests focus on cities, immigration, and states in the world economy, with inequality, gendering and digitization as three key variables running through her work. She is the author of eight books and the editor/

co-editor of three books. Saskia Sassen's latest book, *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy* (Harvard University Press, 2014), is now available in 18 languages. She is the recipient of diverse awards, including multiple doctor honoris causa, the Principe de Asturias 2013 Prize in the Social Sciences, and is a Foreign Member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Contact: [@SaskiaSassen](https://twitter.com/SaskiaSassen)

### HUBERT RENÉ SCHILLINGER

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES)



Hubert René Schillinger is Director of the FES' Geneva Office. Since joining FES in 1980, Hubert René Schillinger has held various positions at FES headquarters and abroad, including project leader in Senegal and FES country director in Morocco, South Africa and Namibia. From mid-2009 to mid-2014 he led FES' Dialogue on Globalization Programme at FES headquarters in Berlin. He holds a Master's Degree in Economics from the University of Constance, Germany and graduated from the Center for Advanced Training in Rural Development (SLE) at the Technical University, Berlin.

Email: [hschillinger@fes-geneva.org](mailto:hschillinger@fes-geneva.org)

### BETTINA SCHORR

Free University of Berlin



Bettina Schorr is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Free University of Berlin, Institute for Latin American Studies. Her main research interests include social inequalities in Latin America, institution building and social conflicts.

Email: [bettina.schorr@fu-berlin.de](mailto:bettina.schorr@fu-berlin.de)

### JEREMY SEEKINGS

University of Cape Town



Jeremy Seekings is Professor of Political Studies and Sociology, Interim Director of the Institute for Democracy, Citizenship and Public Policy in Africa and Director of the Centre for Social Science Research at the University of Cape Town. His most recent book is *Policy, Politics and Poverty in South Africa* (Palgrave, 2015).

### VANDANA SHIVA

Author, scientist, environmental activist and eco-feminist

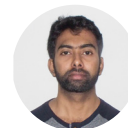


Vandana Shiva trained initially as a physicist and later shifted to interdisciplinary research in science, technology and environmental policy. She has founded a number of initiatives addressing the most significant ecological and social issues of our times from research and activist perspectives; Forbes magazine identified her as one of the top seven most powerful women on the globe in November 2010. Among her many awards are the Right Livelihood Award (also known as the Alternative Nobel Prize), the UNEP Global 500 Award and the MIDORI Prize for Biodiversity.

Contact: [@drvandanashiva](https://twitter.com/dr Vandana Shiva)

### RAMAPURATH C. SUDHEESH

University of Oxford



Ramapurath C. Sudheesh is a D.Phil. candidate at the Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford. His research explores the impact of agrarian changes and land policies on landless indigenous peoples in the southern Indian state of Kerala. His publications have appeared on *The Wire*, in the *Indian Journal of Human Development* and in *Citizenship Studies*.

Email: [racsudheesh@gmail.com](mailto:racsudheesh@gmail.com)

### JOMO KWAME SUNDARAM

Council of Eminent Persons, Malaysia



Jomo Kwame Sundaram was appointed to the 5-member Council of Eminent Persons by Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir in May 2018. His other roles have included Visiting Senior Fellow at Khazanah Research Institute, UN Assistant Secretary-General for Economic Development, Assistant Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and Tun Hussein Onn Chair in International Studies at the Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Malaysia. He received the 2007 Wassily Leontief Prize for Advancing the Frontiers of Economic Thought.

Email: [jomoks@yahoo.com](mailto:jomoks@yahoo.com)



**GERARDO TORRES CONTRERAS**

University of Sussex



Gerardo A. Torres Contreras is a third-year doctoral researcher at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, UK. He is working on the social impacts of wind farms in the global South. In his work, he explores land struggles, resistance and processes of social differentiation resulting from renewable energy projects in Mexico. He previously obtained degrees in Political Science at UNAM, Mexico and an MPhil in Development Studies at Oxford University. More recently, he has also worked with Oxfam on issues of inequality and well-being in Mexico.

Contact: [@Gerardo\\_atc](https://twitter.com/Gerardo_atc)

**MAURICIO TORRES-TOVAR**

National University of Colombia



Mauricio Torres-Tovar is a medical doctor, a PhD candidate in public health and Professor at the National University of Colombia. His main research interests are public health, occupational health, right to health, collective action. His recent publications include the article: M. Torres-Tovar M and N. Torres-Echeverry. 2017. "Work and Health: The Constitutional Court and the Protection of Constitutional Rights in Work-Related Accidents and Illnesses." *Rev. salud pública*, 19(6):772-779.

Email: [mhtorrest@unal.edu.co](mailto:mhtorrest@unal.edu.co)

**IMRAAN VALODIA**

University of the Witwatersrand



Imraan Valodia is Dean of the Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management at Wits University, South Africa, and was Chair of the National Minimum Wage Advisory Panel.

Contact: [@ivalodia](https://twitter.com/ivalodia)

**CHRISTINE VERSCHUUR**

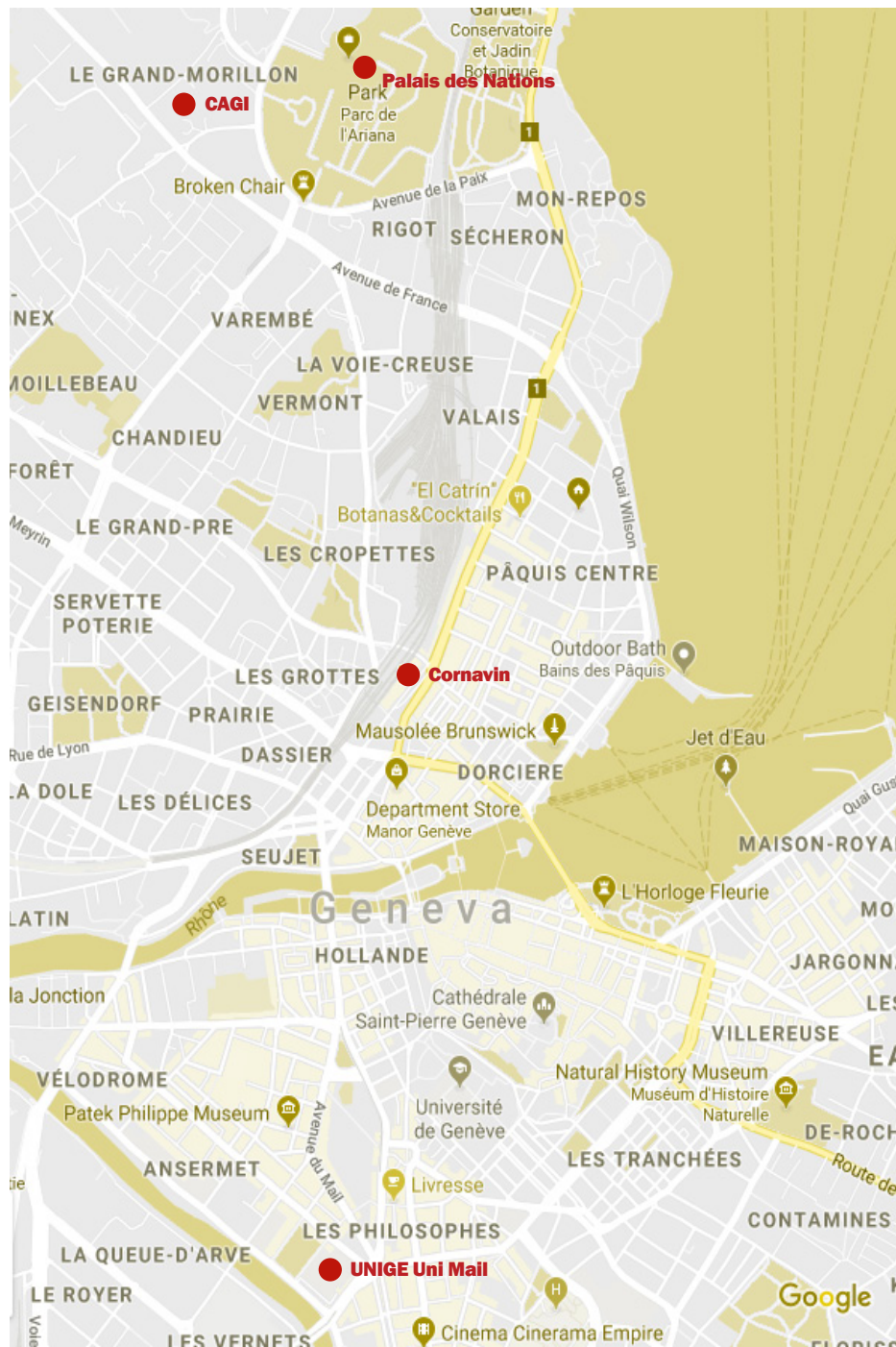
Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva



Christine Verschuur is Senior Lecturer in Anthropology and Sociology, having joined the faculty at the Graduate Institute in 1996. Her research interests are social reproduction, social and solidarity and feminist economy; gender experts and gender expertise; gender and urban social organizations, rural development and peasant organizations. Recent publications include "Genre et économie solidaire, des croisements nécessaires." *Cahiers Genre et Développement* n° 10, 2017: L'Harmattan, Paris, with I. Guérin and I. Hillenkamp.

Email: [christine.verschuur@graduateinstitute.ch](mailto:christine.verschuur@graduateinstitute.ch)

# PRACTICAL INFORMATION



## Public Transportation



### TO THE PALAIS DES NATIONS

#### ▲ By tram or bus

Trams number 13 and 15, as well as buses 5, 8, 11, 14, 28, V, F and Z serve the Place des Nations, where the Palais des Nations is located. Buses 8, 28, F, V and Z will take you directly to the Visitors' Entry Pregny Gate (Appia stop), where you must go when you first arrive at the conference to collect your badge. Subsequently you can enter via the Nations Gate.

### TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GENEVA

#### ▲ By tram or bus

Arriving from the airport:

Bus 5, direction Thônex-Vallard; stop at Cornavin; change to tram 15, direction Palettes; stop at Uni Mail.

Arriving from the main station Cornavin:

Tram 15, direction Palettes; stop at Uni Mail.

#### ▶ By taxi

Taxis are easily identifiable at taxi stands all over town, or can be called on the following numbers:  
Taxi-phone SA Genève: +41 22 33 141 33  
AA Genève Central Taxi: +41 22 3 202 202





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