

# Social Cohesion and the State

---

## *T20 Recommendations Report*

*Work in Progress<sup>1</sup>*

*Compiled by:*

*Juliane Stein-Zalai (juliane.stein-zalai@ifw-kiel.de) and Dennis Görlich (dennis.goerlich@ifw-kiel.de)*

*Version: January 16, 2020*

## **About this Report**

This Recommendations Report contains Policy Briefs addressing the policy priorities of the G20. These policy priorities were reflected in the research agenda of the T20, the official think tank network advising the G20, which has produced research-based Policy Briefs containing recommendations for decision-makers.

This report provides a repository and categorization of the T20 Policy Briefs and additional relevant literature. It also provides information about the relevant G20 commitments. The report can be used by future T20 Task Forces to set up a research agenda, which builds upon the past efforts of the T20 network.

Clicking on the paper titles will open the paper.

---

<sup>1</sup> This is a living document. Comments, suggestions and additions are very welcome. Please send them to [juliane.stein-zalai@ifw-kiel.de](mailto:juliane.stein-zalai@ifw-kiel.de)

## Content

About this Report.....	1
1. Introduction .....	3
2. Suggested Issues for Research .....	4
3. Policy Briefs.....	6
A. Towards a New Social Compact.....	6
B. Reducing Economic Inequality.....	12
C. Bridging the Urban-Rural Divide .....	14
D. Reforming the Welfare State .....	15
E. Empowering Civil Society.....	18
4. Commitments and Initiatives of the G20.....	21
Relevant Commitments Made in Recent G20 Leaders’ Communiqués .....	21
General References to Issues Related to Social Cohesion in Recent G20 Leaders’ Communiqués....	28
Recent Relevant G20 Documents and Initiatives.....	31
5. The T20 Task Forces on Social Cohesion, Global Governance and the Future of Politics Over Time .32	
T20 Saudi Arabia 2020: Social Cohesion and the State.....	32
T20 Japan 2019: Task Force 6: Social Cohesion, Global Governance and the Future of Politics.....	32
T20 Argentina 2018: Social Cohesion, Global Governance and the Future of Politics .....	33
T20 Germany 2017: Global Inequality and Social Cohesion .....	33
References .....	35

## 1. Introduction

\*to be added\*

## 2. Suggested Issues for Research

The following topics have been suggested by members of the [Council for Global Problem-Solving](#) (CGP):

### ***Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV)***

- Social inclusiveness – addressing concerns of different groups to reduce inequalities
- Weak social safety net – the need for robust mechanisms to boost social safety, promote decent work and wage growth
- Social cohesion and migrants – developing ways to improve cohesion for immigrants

### ***Elcano Royal Institute***

- Private-public cooperation: New roles for businesses
- Shareholders or stakeholders' businesses?
- Business and human rights for economic and social justice
- Feasibility of wealth taxes to reduce inequality
- The role of AI and new connectivity for democracy
- The concept of Good Life

### ***Global Solutions Initiative (GSI)***

- Measuring social solidarity and empowerment alongside GDP with the aim of recoupling social and economic prosperity
- Trade-offs between growth and social fragmentation
- Devising new political settings to strengthen inclusive participatory democracy

### ***G20 Research Group***

- How is climate change creating inequality, eco-anxiety and populism and what policies including education ones will best counter this?

### ***Hertie School of Governance***

- divided societies and how to heal them
- a digital civil society? new forms of engagement
- the digital and the public sphere

## ***OECD, Policy Studies Branch***

- Reducing inequalities – increasing SMEs' access to public markets.
- A systematic approach to gender mainstreaming across sectors for reducing structural barriers to equality.
- Progress disconnected: building a new relationship between citizens and the states

### 3. Policy Briefs

#### A. *Towards a New Social Compact*

*“The downside consequence of globalization and technological progress is the destruction of jobs (though import competition, outsourcing and off-shoring of economic activity, or automation), existing communities (local economies, non-competitive firms, or family ties) and social unity (through widening inequality and inadequate social safety nets).”*

[source: T20 Japan 2018, p. 20]

*“There is a need to re-think the social contract, also as a way of providing an answer to populisms by taking into account those who feel left behind or pushed aside by technological progress, globalisation and the long-term effects of the crisis.”*

[source: [https://www.g20-insights.org/policy\\_briefs/technology-can-help-to-right-technologys-social-wrongs-elements-for-a-new-social-compact-for-digitalisation/](https://www.g20-insights.org/policy_briefs/technology-can-help-to-right-technologys-social-wrongs-elements-for-a-new-social-compact-for-digitalisation/)]

#### **A new societal contract**

Economics: The Open-Access, Open-Assessment E-Journal, 13 (2019-37): 1–13.

- Snower, Dennis (Global Solutions Initiative)

Abstract: This paper argues that the traditional social contract that underlies the free market economy has run its course and needs to be replaced by a new contract, based on a new conception of the “empowering economy.” Whereas different social contracts are relevant to different societies, all these contracts have some features in common, addressing some basic human needs that are common to all. These are needs that every thriving society must satisfy. In the presence of current global problems – such as climate change and financial crises – satisfying these needs can also generate the popular approval for multilateral agreements to tackle these problems. The paper identifies three inconvenient truths for the existing social contract: (i) economic performance involves more than material prosperity, (ii) free markets naturally generate inequality, and (iii) human progress rests primarily on cooperation. In response, the paper proposes a new social contract that can be promoted through three policy approaches: (1) policy that focuses not just on material prosperity, but also on personal empowerment and social solidarity, (2) automatic stabilizers that reduce inequalities of economic power and (3) policy that develops the human capabilities of cooperation.

Proposal:

In response to the three inconvenient truths, a new social contract must involve three policy pillars, with far-reaching implications for the responsibilities of government, firms and households.

1. First, the new social contract must go beyond our current policy focus on material prosperity and distribution of wealth. It must to also include the objectives of personal empowerment and social solidarity.

2. Second, the new social contract must provide market economies with automatic stabilizers that reduce inequalities of economic power whenever they arise and whatever form they take.
3. Finally, the new social contract must recognize the central role of cooperation in generating economic progress. The contract should promote economic policies that do not simply promote competition for its own sake, but give more emphasis to the development of our cooperative capabilities.

### **Decoupling and Social Arrest: The Way Forward**

PB G20 Insights: G20 Japan

- Anheier, Helmut (Hertie School of Governance)

Abstract: In a number of G20 countries, the combination of increasing economic inequality and decreasing social mobility is leading to a situation of social arrest, a paralysis fed by deep structural blockages in society. Social arrest is the result of a decades-long neglect in addressing the consequences of a globalization process by decoupling economic and social policy. The wider implications of social arrest can be understood in the context of the Dahrendorf Quandary and the Rodrik Trilemma, which posit that liberal democracy, national sovereignty and global economic integration become at some point incompatible. Their relationships require careful balancing through forward-looking policies aimed at managing inherent tensions. Reviewing a range of policy approaches to counteract social arrest tendencies, five key measures are proposed to recouple economic and social policies: tax reforms to reduce income inequality and wealth disparities; social mobility programs to function as “social conveyor belts”; safety shields for populations most exposed to globalization pressures, including managed migration; an enabling environment for civil society to boost selforganization and conflict management; and sustained debates and social engagements for bringing disconnected publics closer.

Proposal:

Five core policy measures for managing tensions and achieving:

1. tax reforms to reduce income inequality and wealth disparities, and to incentivize economic mobilization in terms of entrepreneurship and employment;
2. social mobility programs to function as “social conveyor belts,” likely to include massive investments in education and skills training in the broadest sense to boost employability, and measures to create more equal opportunities for younger generations;
3. safety shields for populations most exposed to, or likely to be negatively affected by, globalization pressures, and policies to compensate for regional disparities including managed migration at domestic and international levels;
4. creating an enabling environment for civil society for strengthening selforganization;
5. encouraging sustained debates among disconnected publics to enhance social cohesion

## Understanding and fostering social cohesion

PB G20 Insights: G20 Argentina

- Nicholas Tänzler (Kiel Institute for the World Economy (IfW))
- Gianluca Grimalda (Kiel Institute for the World Economy (IfW))

Abstract: We offer theoretical foundations for the notion of social cohesion, provide empirical evidence for its drivers and impact on policy-relevant targets (such as GDP and well-being) and analyze its trend. We then offer several recommendations on how to foster social cohesion, pertaining to either its “objective” component – e.g. facilitating participation in association and community work, inserting “service-learning” into school curricula, acting for inclusive growth – and its “subjective” component – e.g. encouraging media and civil society to self-regulate to reduce the diffusion of false information, improving tolerance across groups and removing stereotypes over immigrants’ perceived lack of integration in society.

Summary of Proposal: **comprehensive and integrated approach** needed that takes account of the difficulties in improving social cohesion (especially correcting individual stereotypes, removing the spread of factually wrong information by the media, and facilitating participation in associations, community work and the implementation of policies for inclusive growth)

1. Facilitate the constitution and the participation in associations and community work
2. Offer educational programs providing students with the opportunity to engage in community work and association membership.
3. Citizen involvement in the implementation of public goods
4. Facilitate the opportunities for citizens’ political engagement and improve the institutional reception to bottom-up initiatives
5. Comply with a strategy of inclusive growth
6. Improve integration of immigrants in society
7. Improve reciprocal tolerance across different ethnic and social groups
8. Engage in a public dialogue with the media, broadly defined, in order to discard the diffusion of so-called “fake news”
9. Identify sensitive areas for trust in governments and implement policies to improve consensus

## Technology Can Help To Right Technology’s Social Wrongs: Elements For a New Social Compact For Digitalisation

PB G20 Insights: G20 Japan

- Ortega, Andres (Elcano Royal Institute, Madrid, Spain)
- Otero, Miguel (Elcano Royal Institute, Madrid, Spain)
- Steinberg, Federico (Elcano Royal Institute, Madrid, Spain)
- Andrés, Francisco (Elcano Royal Institute, Madrid, Spain)



Abstract: The technological revolution is causing social and political disruptions. But it can also be used to improve welfare systems. It can help to fulfil the 2030 Agenda of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which count on a global consensus. We propose to use Education Technologies at different stages of life –including the possibility of funds for the adaptation to digitalisation and large public-private partnerships for skilling, re-skilling and up-skilling– as a central element of the new social compact. In order to finance these programmes, G20 countries should establish a multilateral common framework for taxing the revenues of large digital corporations.

Proposal:

1. Use of technology for social good
2. Using EdTech at different stages of life
3. Increase public revenues: digital tax
4. A plurality of actors

### **Improving Immigrants' Integration in Host Countries**

PB G20 Insights: G20 Japan

- [Gianluca Grimalda \(Institute for the World Economy\)](#)
- [Lena Detlefsen \(Institute for the World Economy\)](#)
- [Christopher Schütt \(Institute for the World Economy\)](#)

Abstract: In increasingly multi-ethnic societies, discrimination of immigrants is a challenge for social cohesion. A large-scale conjoint experiment we conducted in Germany shows that native citizens reward immigrants who (A) have high educational attainments or (B) actively engage in community work, with (B) triggering higher rewards than (A). We then recommend the establishment of volunteering partnerships where immigrants join local civil society associations and perform community work. We recommend the strengthening of active labour market policies for immigrants, the involvement of the media sector in disseminating unbiased information to the public, and actions to increase social interactions between natives and immigrants.

Proposal:

1. Establish community work programmes involving both immigrants and local voluntary associations.
2. Establish active labour market qualification programmes for immigrants.
3. Policies should strive to be characterised by impartiality, and care should be taken that natives are seen to benefit as much as immigrants from the policy programmes that are implemented.
4. The media sector and relevant civil society organisations should be involved in the process of transmitting to the public information that is unbiased and free from stereotyping of immigrants.
5. Policies to reduce segregation at the urban or social level should be put in place.

## **Promoting Unity of Corporate Governance with Global Governance and Social Governance: Demanding Commitment from Corporate Businesses on Sustaining Stable Social Foundation**

PB G20 Insights: G20 Japan

- [Inaba, Nobuo \(Ricoh Institute of Sustainability and Business\)](#)
- [Nakajima, Atsushi \(Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry\)](#)

Abstract: In the process of achieving the sustainable growth and to positively transform the world in a balanced manner, corporate businesses play major roles. Nowadays, being a part of the global and local societies, firms' sustainable maximum of profit is not achievable without their contribution to build the sustainable society.

In such a situation, firms are required to adopt corporate governance which needs to attain integrity and unity with global and social governance, and further extend it to comply with SDGs. In addition, further disclosure of corporate information is effective to improve corporate value and for firms to further contribute to the society. Also, new approaches based on technology progress in fulfilling SDGs could help firms to promote their corporate governance and to contribute to the interest of both the society and the stakeholders in a sustainable manner.

Proposal:

- A. Corporate governance needs to attain integrity and unity with global and social governance
- B. Further disclosure of corporate information supports firms to contribute to the society
- C. Effective use of technological progress to guide corporate businesses

## **Reducing inequalities and strengthening social cohesion through Inclusive Growth: a roadmap for action**

PB G20 Insights: G20 Germany

- [Romina Boarini \(OECD\)](#)
- [Orsetta Causa \(OECD\)](#)
- [Marc Fleurbaey \(International Panel for Social Progress \(IPSP\)\)](#)
- [Gianluca Grimalda \(Kiel Institute for the World Economy \(IfW\)\)](#)
- [Ingrid Woolard \(University of Capetown\)](#)

Abstract: We propose a policy compact to achieve more inclusive growth in G20 countries so that economic growth regains the ultimate sense of improving all people's lives. Guiding principles are: 1) social cohesion is not just about income but about all relevant dimensions of well-being and determinants of social status; 2) it is also about including people in participatory decision-making to enhance their dignity and control over their lives; 3) integrated policy approaches are needed, across policy domains and between national and global actions, including migrations. Concrete policy actions are described that span education, labor, fiscal instruments, public and private governance.

Summary of Proposal:

1. Share the benefits of increased prosperity and globalization more evenly across social groups.
2. Devise policies that consider the multidimensional nature of prosperity and how the various well-being outcomes are distributed in the population.
3. Ensure that all individuals are equipped to fulfil their productive potential with adequate investment in skills and health and good opportunities for quality jobs to keep pace with an increasingly globalized and digitalized world.
4. Make sure that the voices of all citizens are heard by promoting wide participation to political and economic decisions in particular from less engaged groups. Foster transparency in decision-making processes and prevent capture by special interest groups, at all levels.
5. Counter the rising tide of anti-immigration voices by developing effective migration and integration policies and by explaining the benefits from immigration. Step-up international cooperation to manage migration flows at the global level.
6. Making inclusive growth happen requires evidence-based reasoning. More timely data are needed to understand the conditions under which economic growth translates into higher well-being outcomes.

**Adapting Trade Policy to Social, Environmental, and Development Goals**

PB G20 Insights: G20 Argentina

*Note: the PB argues for global cooperation in international trade to strengthen social cohesion*

- Gregory Shaffer (International Panel for Social Progress (IPSP))
- Marc Fleurbaey (International Panel for Social Progress (IPSP))

International trade law has been oblivious to social inclusion. One of the results has been a rise in neo-nationalism and the threat of trade wars. This proposal addresses how international trade law can be retooled in order to: help combat harmful tax competition, avoidance, and evasion; aid domestic social security and job retraining; support labor protection; discourage social dumping; and enable industrial policy experimentation for development. The proposal involves: pursuing tax cooperation and linking trade agreements to tax agreements; incorporating adjustment policies into trade agreements and adding monitoring mechanisms; enlarging trade negotiations over policy space; setting up procedural and transparency safeguards to prevent abuses and hidden protectionism.

## **B. Reducing Economic Inequality**

*“Economic inequality is rising in nearly all countries. (...) Inequality is an unavoidable problem for today’s leaders. A burgeoning literature demonstrates the link between rising inequality and increasing incidences of social and health problems, slower growth or political unrest.”*

[source: [https://www.g20-insights.org/policy\\_briefs/towards-pisa-type-ranking-economic-inequality/](https://www.g20-insights.org/policy_briefs/towards-pisa-type-ranking-economic-inequality/)]

*“Inequalities are drastically becoming one of the foremost challenges that the world is facing due to the disparities between the rich and the poor especially in developing countries. While the world is facing growing social and economic inequalities between societies, there are fundamental upheavals that are starting to undermine social cohesion.”*

[source: [https://www.g20-insights.org/policy\\_briefs/inequalities-undermine-social-cohesion-case-study-south-africa/](https://www.g20-insights.org/policy_briefs/inequalities-undermine-social-cohesion-case-study-south-africa/)]

### **How Inequalities undermine Social Cohesion: A Case study of South Africa**

PB G20 Insights: G20 Germany

- Isaac Khambule (Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC))
- Babalwa Siswana (Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC))

Abstract: The consequences of growing global inequalities and uneven development are starting to be noticeable because of their effect on social cohesion. South Africa is such a country that bears the consequences of having the most unequal society in the world. This policy brief therefore uses the case study of South Africa to show how social and economic inequalities can end up undermining social cohesion, the very glue that is holding our national societies together and fostering a greater response to inequalities. The authors propose various measures in which the South African government can address the decreasing levels of social cohesion because of increasing socio-economic inequalities. This can be done through government committing to adopt redistributive policies in the social and economic spaces. The redistributive policies have to be aimed at redistributing the land, investing in African businesses and increasing the minimum wage.

Summary of Proposal: The authors propose various measures in which the South African government can address the decreasing levels of social cohesion because of increasing socio-economic inequalities. This can be done through government committing to adopt redistributive policies in the social and economic spaces. The redistributive policies have to be aimed at redistributing the land, investing in African businesses and increasing the minimum wage.

### **Towards a PISA-type ranking on economic inequality**

PB G20 Insights: G20 Germany

- Lucas Chancel (Institute for Sustainable Development and International Relations (IDDRI))
- Alex Hough (Institute for Sustainable Development and International Relations (IDDRI))
- Tancrede Voituriez (Institute for Sustainable Development and International Relations (IDDRI))

Abstract: Economic inequality is rising in nearly all countries. Some nations however fare better than others and the global community could learn from successful national policies implemented to tackle inequality. Building on the SDG impetus, this policy brief calls for i) the publication of a periodical report that would rank countries over their performance in terms of economic inequality and ii) the creation of a research and policy forum to facilitate mutual learning over inequality reduction policies.

Summary of Policy Proposal:

...for G20 leaders

- Publish a periodical (annual or every two years) **statistical and policy report** ranking countries over their performance on SDG target 10.1. This report could include contributions from academia but should eventually be endorsed by the United Nations Statistical Agency. G20 countries should take the lead on this.
- This report would contain – or would be supplemented by a side-report on – a **discussion of successful and less successful policies implemented** in different countries to tackle inequality.
- Present and discuss these reports at an **annual global inequality conference**. The T20 host could kick start such a conference and convene it over the first years, but it should eventually be hosted by the United Nations.

## C. *Bridging the Urban-Rural Divide*

*“... we observe a global tendency of economic activity shifting towards big cities and metropolitan areas – at the expense of rural areas with a much lower population density. This development does not just change the way people live together. It could also exacerbate income inequality.”*

[source: [https://www.g20-insights.org/policy\\_briefs/the-urban-rural-divide-and-regionally-inclusive-growth-in-the-digital-age/](https://www.g20-insights.org/policy_briefs/the-urban-rural-divide-and-regionally-inclusive-growth-in-the-digital-age/)]

### **The Urban-Rural Divide and Regionally Inclusive Growth in the Digital Age**

PB G20 Insights: G20 Japan

- [Kastrop, Christian \(Bertelsmann Stiftung\)](#)
- [Ponattu, Dominic \(Bertelsmann Stiftung\)](#)
- [Schmidt, Julia \(Bertelsmann Stiftung\)](#)
- [Schmidt, Sylvia \(Bertelsmann Stiftung\)](#)

Abstract: The current debate on global inequality and social cohesion has also recognized growing differences in living standards between urban and rural areas. This policy brief discusses factors contributing to the urban-rural divide and recommends policies to facilitate the process of catching up. It stresses the megatrends of globalisation and digitalisation in explaining agglomeration in urban areas. Digitalisation and weak connectivity can further exacerbate urban-rural disparities. The policy brief concludes with a set of measures that helps rural areas catch up and contributes to inclusive economic growth. The proposed policies emphasize the need to foster social cohesion in the digital transformation.

Proposal:

1. Foster innovation policies in rural areas: G20 member states should enact policies that support innovation and start-up eco-systems in rural areas
2. Upgrade digital infrastructure and connectivity: G20 countries should commit to increased spending goals for digital infrastructure and connectivity in rural areas
3. Create opportunities for upskilling: G20 countries need to develop and implement strategies to improve the skill-level of the workforce in rural areas.
4. Provide social protection: G20 member states should commit to a welfare state targeted at those with most difficulty to adjust to structural changes in the economy

## **D. Reforming the Welfare State**

*“The future of the welfare state needs rethinking, in many countries, in the light of the increasing challenges. The growing needs for redistributive safety nets, the costs of advanced health care and old-age dependence and related burdens come in conflict with the disaffection for redistribution and the race to the bottom on corporate and top income taxation that many countries are engaged in to attract foreign investment and talent.”*

[source: [https://www.g20-insights.org/policy\\_briefs/rethinking-the-welfare-state-in-the-global-economy/](https://www.g20-insights.org/policy_briefs/rethinking-the-welfare-state-in-the-global-economy/)]

### **Rethinking the welfare state in the global economy**

PB G20 Insights: G20 Argentina

- Fernando Filgueira (Centro de Informaciones y Estudios del Uruguay (CIESU))
- Orsetta Causa (OECD)
- Marc Fleurbaey (International Panel for Social Progress (IPSP))
- Gianluca Grimalda (Kiel Institute for the World Economy (IfW))

Abstract: Is the welfare state jeopardized by demographic and economic pressures (ageing, globalization, technological progress)? In fact, it is even more needed in a globalized economy, and it can be adapted to enhance its effectiveness in promoting more inclusive growth. This involves: developing pre-market and in-market forms of pre-distribution that reduce inequalities in market incomes and lower the need for redistribution; investing in education and health to develop productivity, civic capacities and well-being; seeking more efficient tax bases such as externalities and rents; breaking intergenerational transmissions of inequalities and boosting social mobility by investment in human capital and wealth redistribution; preparing safety nets for large technological waves; developing international cooperation on tax and social norms. These recommendations are equally relevant for developing and emerging economies and should be considered against the broad challenge that such countries face of establishing a sustainable welfare system.

Summary of Policy Proposal:

#### 1. Empowering people through pre-market and in-market policies

maximizing the welfare state’s pre-distributive operations: (a) investment in human capital and human capacities through education, public health (including environmental policy) and access to basic infrastructure (including digital technology); (b) taxing gifts and bequests at the recipient level only and encouraging donors to distribute their wealth to the most needy. [The G20 countries should build up coordination to enable countries to implement suitable forms of bequest redistribution without fearing capital flight.]; (c) “in-market” pre-distribution: minimum wage and labor contract regulation, competition policy, corporate social and environmental responsibility (European Enterprise Formula, U.S. Benefit Corporation formula), make sure workers in the gig economy are covered by social protection systems

## 2. Seeking new revenues drawn through efficiency-oriented interventions

shift the tax base toward less distortionary or even toward equity and efficiency-enhancing taxes: (a) reducing taxes on labor earnings at the low-end of the distribution, curbing gender bias in taxation by lifting women labor market participation; fostering horizontal equity in the tax system; (b) land rents and market power rents [G20 countries should consider defining guidelines to coordinate anti-trust policy]; (c) taxes on externalities, e.g. carbon tax [Coordination across countries within the Paris Agreement can be enhanced by setting up a coordinated effort at harmonizing the carbon tax (or price ranges for emission permits)]; (d) property taxes

## 3. Breaking intergenerational transmissions and lifetime persistence

policies attending to material assets and human capital in order to give every individual fair chances and possibilities to recover after disruptive events such as unemployment or health shocks: (a) ambitious policy to curb the dynastic transmission of wealth; (b) unemployment benefits, income support and incentives for savings; (c) Taxes on pollution, initial education; (d) health care, lifelong education

## 4. Preparing the welfare state for the fourth industrial revolution

reduce the shock resulting from artificial intelligence (AI) revolution: (a) better incentives toward employment through reduced payroll taxes and more democratic management; (b) income support (unemployment benefits and other forms) and retraining programs; (c) pro-competition policy can foster the dynamism of the economy and the creation of new jobs [G20 countries should consider experimenting with modest levels of universal basic income and test both the economic and political viability of this formula.]

## 5. Welfare states in emerging economies

(a) enlarging the access to all levels of education (universal coverage); (b) providing health services as broadly as possible (universal coverage) [This is an area where official development aid could take new forms directly financing educational and health programs through the provision of loans or unconditional aid.]; (c) targeted social assistance (usually considered as an effective strategy during the scaling-up of a welfare state

## 6. International coordination toward a global safety net

The policies and reforms discussed in this note are meant to be implemented at the national level yet with suitable coordination and harmonization they could form the backbone of a project of universal safety net, defining minimal levels for investment in human capital, social protection and related policies.

most basic form of cooperation should bear on tax evasion and the closure of tax havens (Alonso 2018b); introduction of global taxes and global safety nets, or global infrastructure programs (Global



taxes such as a carbon tax could be earmarked to pay for infrastructure investment in developing countries and basic safety nets.)

## ***E. Empowering Civil Society***

*“At one level, they [Civil Society Organizations] become parallel actors that may substitute, even counteract, state activities. At another, the state and CSOs are part of ever more complex and elaborate public-private partnerships and typically work in complementary fashion with other agencies, public and private. Yet how can CSOs be efficient service providers, innovators, and a source of social cohesion all at the same time?”*

[source: [https://www.g20-insights.org/policy\\_briefs/civil-society-organizations-in-need-of-new-regulatory-models/](https://www.g20-insights.org/policy_briefs/civil-society-organizations-in-need-of-new-regulatory-models/)]

### **Civil Society and the G20: Towards a Review of Regulatory Models and Approaches**

PB G20 Insights: G20 Japan

- Anheier, Helmut (Hertie School of Governance & University of Heidelberg)
- Toepler, Stefan (George Mason University)

Abstract: The relationship between many G20 governments and civil society organizations (CSOs) has become more complex and often contested. This policy brief first focuses on three key problems indicative of this strained relationship: the shrinking domestic and international space for civil society activities; the widespread policy neglect of civil society; and the emergence of new regulatory voids. In essence, governments, international agencies and CSOs have to find more optimal modes of engagement at national and international levels. Next, as an initial step to explore ways and means for improving the relationship between civil society and G20 governments, the brief proposes the establishment of an international task force of independent experts. This task force would be charged with seeking answers to major policy questions, and with a focus on international civil society activities.

Proposal:

Establishment of an **international task force** to address three key questions in the context of a shrinking space, regulatory neglect and voids:

- What are likely trajectories for CSOs over the next five to ten years, especially with changing geo-politics and in transnational policy domains?
- What are the main challenges involved, both domestically and in terms of cross-border activities, and what opportunities present themselves?
- What would be adequate space or regulatory models for CSO operations? What are workable models of state - civil society relations, and under what conditions? Creating an International Task Force

Suggestions for the composition of the task force as well as for dialogue with policy-makers are also made in the PB.

### **Civil Society Organizations: In need of new regulatory models**

PB G20 Insights: G20 Argentina

- [Stefan Toepler \(George Mason University\)](#)
- [Helmut Anheier \(Hertie School of Governance\)](#)

Abstract: The relationship between many G20 governments and organized civil society has become more complex, laden with tensions, and such that both have to find more optimal modes of engagement. While there are many reasons for this development, the present impasse results foremost from a lack of adequate regulatory frameworks that can accommodate a much more diverse and expanded set of civil society organizations (CSO). Typically, regulations are outdated, and given the growth of CSO activities in economic, political and social terms, increasingly ill-suited. In response, the brief proposes a differentiated model for a regulatory framework based on functional roles.

Summary of Policy Proposal: A more differentiated approach to civil society organizations (CSOs) is needed, namely, **regulatory frameworks that take account of the functional differences** among CSOs and the **various organizational forms** underlying them (CSOs as service provider, an expression of civic engagement, private support for the public good (foundations) or social investments).

### **Philanthropic Foundations: From Promise to Sustainable Contributions**

PB G20 Insights: G20 Argentina

- [Diana Leat \(City University London\)](#)
- [Stefan Toepler \(George Mason University\)](#)
- [Helmut Anheier \(Hertie School of Governance\)](#)

Abstract: Over recent decades, philanthropic foundations have grown in numbers, scale and policy relevance. Yet their roles and contributions in the context of national and international politics and policies remain unclear, particular in view of the profound challenges G20 countries face in terms of social cohesion, governance, and the need for policy innovations. Drawing from the growing literature on philanthropy and recent research projects by the authors, we identify key roles for foundations, make a case for transparent, pro-active management style, and, in terms of an overall regulatory framework, propose policy recommendations towards enabling environments for philanthropy.

Summary of Policy Proposal:

1. Tackle philanthropic foundations' vulnerability to the benign fallibility syndrome **by a more pro-active management style**
2. Government shall **provide adequate policy and regulatory environments**: (a) arms-length model for consolidated democracies and developed market economies, (b) concessionary system for transition regimes with the rule of law in place, (c) general delegated model for autocratic regimes
3. Foundations shall (a) undertake a serious and profound **review of management styles**, including issues relating to their legitimacy (especially transparency and accountability), (b) **invite public debate** on what model fits the circumstances of a particular country best

## Civil Society Challenged: Towards an Enabling Policy Environment

PB G20 Insights: G20 Germany

- Helmut Anheier (Hertie School of Governance)
- John Burns (The University of Hong Kong)
- Jack H. Knott (University of Southern California)

Abstract: The authors propose to initiate a process for the establishment of an independent high-level commission of eminent persons (i) to examine the changing policy environment for civil society organizations in many countries, (ii) to review the reasons behind the shrinking space civil society encounters in some parts of the world and its steady development in others, and (iii) to make concrete proposals for how G20 countries and civil society can relate in productive ways in national and international contexts.

Summary of Policy Proposal: initiate a process for the **establishment of an independent high-level commission** of eminent persons

1. to **examine the changing policy environment** for civil society organizations in many countries
2. to **review the reasons behind the shrinking space** civil society encounters in some parts of the world and its steady development in others, and
3. to **make concrete proposals** for how G20 countries and civil society can relate in productive ways in national and international contexts.

## 4. Commitments and Initiatives of the G20

### Relevant Commitments<sup>2</sup> Made in Recent G20 Leaders' Communiqués<sup>3 4</sup>

#### Osaka, Japan, June 2019: G20 Osaka Leaders' Declaration ([G20 2019](#))

- **“We will work together to foster global economic growth, while harnessing the power of technological innovation,** in particular digitalization, and its application **for the benefit of all.”** ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 1, emphases added)
- **“Building on work done by previous presidencies, we will strive to create a virtuous cycle of growth by addressing inequalities and realize a society where all individuals can make use of their full potential.** **We are resolved to build a society capable of seizing opportunities,** and tackling economic, social and environmental challenges, presented today and in the future, including those of demographic change.” ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 2, emphases added)
- **“We reaffirm our commitment to use all policy tools to achieve strong, sustainable, balanced and **inclusive growth,** and safeguard against downside risks, by stepping up our dialogue and actions to enhance confidence.”** ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 4, emphases added)
- **“We will work toward achieving an inclusive, sustainable, safe, trustworthy and innovative **society** through digitalization and promoting the application of emerging technologies.”** ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 10, emphases added)
- **“We remain committed to play a leading role in the global efforts to prevent and fight against corruption,** as well as promoting integrity, by **implementing the G20 Anti-Corruption Action Plan 2019-2021** while strengthening synergies among related international instruments and mechanisms. [...] **We endorse the High Level Principles for Effective Protection of Whistleblowers.** **We renew our commitment to pursuing high level international cooperation between G20 members in the fight against corruption** and to lead by example through the **effective implementation of the United Nations Convention against Corruption,** including its review process. **We will intensify our efforts to combat foreign bribery** and to **ensure that each G20 country has a national law in force for criminalizing foreign bribery** as soon as possible. [...] **We will continue practical cooperation to fight corruption and reaffirm our commitment to deny safe haven to persons sought for corruption** and their proceeds of corruption consistent

---

<sup>2</sup> Following Kirton et al. (2016), we define commitments as “discrete, specific, politically binding publicly expressed, collectively agreed to statements of intent; a “promise” or “undertaking” by summit members that they will undertake future action to move toward, meet or adjust to meet an identified welfare target” (p. 4).

<sup>3</sup> Please note that not only the Leaders' Communiqués but also other G20 documents issued at the summits such as Action Plans or Ministerial Declarations may contain commitments by the G20. Due to their central role and high profile, this account is confined to the commitments made in the Leaders' Communiqués.

<sup>4</sup> For ease of reading, key words of the commitments are printed in bold type while words signaling a commitment are underlined.

with our G20 and international commitments and our domestic legal systems and **will work more closely on asset recovery cooperation.**” ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 20, emphases added)

- **“We will boost job creation** and flexible work arrangements, **seek to raise quality of employment and enhance employability of workers through lifelong learning** as working lives are expected to be longer, and **strive towards improving the working conditions for all including, long-term care workers** in accordance with national circumstances. **We will also continue to promote employment opportunities for and employability of the young population.** [...] **We remain committed to promote decent work** [...]. ” ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 21, emphases added)
- **“Building on the continued efforts by Labour and Employment Ministers, we will exchange our respective progress and actions taken in the G20 towards the Brisbane Goal,** including the quality of women’s employment, on the basis of the annual report. **We will also address the gender gap in unpaid care work** which remains a major obstacle to women’s participation in the labour market. **We commit to take further action to improve the quality of women’s employment, reduce gender pay gaps, and end all forms of discrimination against women and combat stereotypes and to recognize women as agents of peace, and in the prevention and resolution of conflict.**” ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 22, emphases added)
- **“We commit to continue support for girls’ and women’s education and training,** including **providing quality primary and secondary education, improved access to STEM** (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) education and **raising awareness toward eliminating gender stereotypes.** In order to close the digital gender gap, **we will continue enhancing girls’ and women’s access to digital technology** with a focus on the needs of those in poverty and rural areas [...] We welcome the launch of the private sector alliance for the ‘Empowerment and Progression of Women’s Economic Representation (EMPOWER)’ and call upon the alliance to advocate for the advancement of women in the private sector, and **we will take stock of their progress and share their concrete efforts at our upcoming Summits.**” ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 23, emphases added)
- **“We will work to maximize the sector’s [tourism] contribution to the creation of quality jobs and entrepreneurship, especially for women and youth** and in the creative industry [...].” ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 24, emphases added)
- **“We support developing countries** in their efforts **to advance progress towards the timely implementation of the SDGs in such areas as poverty eradication,** quality infrastructure investment, **gender equality,** health, **education,** agriculture, environment, energy, and industrialization, using all means of implementation, such as the mobilization of private sector resources and capacity building assistance.” ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 27, emphases added)
- **“We reaffirm our commitment to invest in human capital and promote inclusive and equitable quality education for all** as emphasized in the G20 Initiative on Human Capital Investment for Sustainable Development.” ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 28, emphases added)

**Buenos Aires, Argentina, December 2018: Building consensus for fair and sustainable development**  
**[\(G20 2018\)](#)**

- **“We reaffirm our pledge to use all policy tools to achieve strong, sustainable, balanced and **inclusive growth**, and safeguard against downside risks, by stepping up our dialogue and actions to enhance confidence.”** (G20 2018: paragraph 4, emphases added)
- **“We remain committed to building an inclusive, fair and sustainable Future of Work by promoting decent work, vocational training and skills development, including reskilling workers and improving labour conditions in all forms of employment, recognizing the importance of social dialogue in this area, including work delivered through digital platforms, with a focus on promoting labour formalization and **making social protection systems strong and portable**, subject to national law and circumstances. We will continue to foster cognitive, digital and entrepreneurship skills, and **encourage the collection and exchange of good practices**. We will promote increasing labour force participation of underrepresented as well as vulnerable groups, including persons with disabilities. We will implement policies to improve the employment situation of young people, consistent with the G20 Antalya Youth Goal. (...) We will endeavor to further create enabling conditions for resource mobilization from public, private and multilateral resources, including innovative financial mechanisms and partnerships, such as impact investment for inclusive and sustainable growth, **in line with the G20 Call on Financing for Inclusive Business.**”** (G20 2018: paragraph 7, emphases added)
- **“Access to education is a human right and a strategic public policy area for the development of more inclusive, prosperous, and peaceful societies. We underline the importance of girls’ education. To **equip our citizens to reap the benefits of societal and technological innovations** we will promote coordination between employment and equitable quality education policies, so we can develop comprehensive strategies that promote key competences such as learning to learn, foundation and digital skills, in a lifelong learning perspective from early childhood.”** (G20 2018: paragraph 8, emphases added)
- **“To maximize the benefits of digitalization and emerging technologies for innovative growth and productivity, we will promote measures to boost micro, small and medium enterprises and entrepreneurs, **bridge the digital gender divide and further digital inclusion**, support consumer protection, and improve digital government, digital infrastructure and measurement of the digital economy.”** (G20 2018: paragraph 9, emphases added)
- **“Gender equality is crucial for economic growth and fair and sustainable development. We are making progress in achieving our Brisbane commitment to reduce the gender gap in labour force participation rates by 25% by 2025 but affirm that more needs to be done. We will continue to promote initiatives aimed at ending all forms of discrimination against women and girls and genderbased violence. We commit to promoting women’s economic empowerment, including by working with the private sector, **to improve labour conditions for all**, such as through access to quality and affordable care infrastructure and parental leave, **and reducing the gender pay gap**. We also commit to promote women’s access to leadership and decision-making positions, the development of women and girls’ digital skills and increasing their participation in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) **and high-tech sectors**. We welcome the continued implementation of the Women Entrepreneurs Financing Initiative (We-Fi), and we thank the Business Women Leaders’ Taskforce for its work. Drawing from this experience, we**

will consider how to **better engage with women entrepreneurs.**” (G20 2018: paragraph 12, emphases added)

- “Mobilizing sustainable finance and strengthening financial inclusion are important for global growth. We welcome the Sustainable Finance Synthesis Report 2018, which presents voluntary options to support deployment of sustainable private capital. We endorse **the G20 Financial Inclusion Policy Guide**, which provides voluntary policy recommendations to facilitate digital financial services, taking into account country contexts and the Global Partnership for Financial Inclusion Roadmap which outlines a process to streamline its work program and structure.” (G20 2018: paragraph 13; emphases added)
- “We launch the **G20 Initiative for Early Childhood Development** and stand ready to join all stakeholders in enhancing quality and sustainably financed early childhood programs that consider the multidimensional approach of ECD, as means of **building human capital to break the cycle of intergenerational and structural poverty, and of reducing inequalities**, specially where young children are most vulnerable.” (G20 2018: paragraph 14, emphases added)
- “We remain committed to **prevent and fight corruption and lead by example.** We agree on the new action plan 2019-2021 and endorse **Principles on Preventing Corruption and Ensuring Integrity in State-Owned Enterprises and on Preventing and Managing Conflicts of Interest in the Public Sector.** These will foster transparency and integrity in the public and private sectors. We will continue **practical cooperation to fight corruption** including in line with our G20 commitments. We will further **explore the links between corruption and other economic crimes and ways to tackle them**, including through cooperation on the return of persons sought for such offences and stolen assets, consistent with international obligations and domestic legal systems.” (G20 2018: paragraph 29, emphases added)

#### **Hamburg, Germany, July 2017 - G20 Leaders’ Declaration: Shaping an interconnected world ([G20 2017](#))**

- “We are resolved to tackle common challenges to the global community, including terrorism, **displacement, poverty**, hunger and health threats, **job creation**, climate change, energy security, and **inequality including gender inequality**, as a basis for sustainable development and stability. We will continue to work together with others, including developing countries, to address these challenges, building on the rulesbased international order.” (G20 2017: p. 2, emphases added)
- “Globalisation and technological change have contributed significantly to driving economic growth and raising living standards across the globe. However, globalization has created challenges and its benefits have not been shared widely enough. By bringing together developed and emerging market economies, the G20 is determined to **shape globalisation to benefit all people.** Most importantly, we need to better enable our people to seize its opportunities.” (G20 2017: p. 3, emphases added)



- “We will continue to **use all policy tools** – monetary, fiscal and structural – individually and collectively **to achieve our goal of** strong, sustainable, balanced and **inclusive growth**, while enhancing economic and financial resilience.” ([G20 2017](#): p. 3, emphases added)
- “We will **promote greater inclusiveness, fairness and equality in our pursuit of economic growth and job creation**. To these ends, we endorse the Hamburg Action Plan.” ([G20 2017](#): p. 3, emphases added)
- “We agree [...] **to enhance international cooperation towards inclusive and sustainable global growth**.” ([G20 2017](#): p. 3, emphases added)
- “Global Supply Chains can be an important source of job creation and balanced economic growth. However challenges for achieving an inclusive, fair and sustainable globalisation remain. In order to achieve sustainable and inclusive supply chains, we commit to **fostering the implementation of labour, social and environmental standards and human rights in line with internationally recognized frameworks, such as the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights and the ILO Tripartite Declaration of Principles concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy**. Those countries that adhere to the **OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises** (OECD MNE Guidelines) commit to **fostering** them and welcome others to follow.” ([G20 2017](#): p. 4, emphases added)
- “We emphasise that fair and decent wages as well as social dialogue are other key components of sustainable and inclusive global supply chains. We support **access to remedy and**, where applicable, **non-judicial grievance mechanisms**, such as the National Contact Points for the OECD MNE Guidelines (NCPs). We will encourage **multinational companies to conclude international framework agreements** as appropriate. Recognising the ongoing work of the Global Partnership for Financial Inclusion (GPII), we promote **better access to financing, technology, and training facilities that help** improve the capacity of micro, small and medium enterprises **to integrate into** sustainable and **inclusive global supply chains**.” ([G20 2017](#): p. 5)
- “Digital transformation is a driving force of global, innovative, inclusive and sustainable growth and can contribute to reducing inequality and achieving the goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. To this end, we need to bridge digital divides along multiple dimensions, including income, age, geography and gender. We will strive to **ensure that all our citizens are digitally connected by 2025** and especially welcome infrastructure development in low-income countries in that regard. We will **promote digital literacy and digital skills** in all forms of education and life-long learning.” ([G20 2017](#): p. 5, emphases added)
- “Acknowledging the increasing diversity of employment, we will **assess its impact on social protection and working conditions** and **continue to monitor global trends**, including the impact of new technologies, demographic transition, globalisation and changing working relationships **on labour markets**. We will **promote decent work opportunities** during the transition of the labour market.” ([G20 2017](#): p.6, emphases added)

- “Recognising the importance of financial inclusion as a multiplier for poverty eradication, job creation, gender equality, and women’s empowerment, we support the ongoing **work of the Global Partnership for Financial Inclusion** and welcome the 2017 G20 Financial Inclusion Action Plan.” ([G20 2017](#): p.11, emphases added)
- “We are making progress in achieving our 2014 **Brisbane commitment to reduce the gender gap in labour force participation** by 25 percent by 2025 but agree that **more needs to be done**. We also commit to **take further action to improve the quality of female employment and eliminate employment discrimination, and reduce gender compensation gaps and provide women with protection from all forms of violence**. We will **improve women’s access to labour markets** through provision of quality education and training, supporting infrastructure, public services and social protection policies and legal reforms, where appropriate.” ([G20 2017](#): p.11, emphases added)
- “We will also **establish a Business Women Leaders’ Taskforce, which will**, in close cooperation with the W20 and B20, bring together business women from G20 countries to **examine ways to increase women’s participation in the economy** and will make recommendations at next year’s summit on the implementation of G20 commitments regarding the economic empowerment of women.” ([G20 2017](#): p.11 f., emphases added)
- “We launch **the G20 Initiative for Rural Youth Employment** in developing countries with a focus on Africa. This Initiative will, in alignment with developing countries’ strategies, contribute to creating 1.1 million new jobs by 2022 and to providing innovative skills development programmes for at least 5 million young people over the next five years.” ([G20 2017](#): p.12, emphases added)
- “We remain committed to **fighting corruption**, including through practical international cooperation and technical assistance, and will continue to **fully implement the G20 Anti-Corruption Action Plan 2017-18**. We endorse four sets of **High Level Principles aimed at fostering integrity in the public and private sector**. By endorsing the High Level Principles on the Liability of Legal Persons, we commit to **ensuring that** not only individual perpetrators but **also companies benefitting from corruption can be held liable**. We commit to **organising our public administrations to be more resilient against corruption**. We will **intensify our fight against corruption related to illegal trade in wildlife and wildlife products**. Wildlife trafficking is a threat to the planet’s biodiversity, economic development, and, among others, health and security, and is facilitated by high levels of corruption, which the G20 cannot tolerate. We also endorse the **High Level Principles on Countering Corruption in Customs** and publish a guide on requesting international cooperation in civil and administrative proceedings. We will continue our work to **address integrity in sports** and urge international sports organisations to intensify their fight against corruption by achieving the highest global integrity and anti-corruption standards. In this respect, we strive for a common understanding regarding corruption risks in bids to host major sport events. We are also committed to **fighting corruption in contracts**, including in the natural resources sector. We call for ratification and implementation by all G20

members of the UN Convention against Corruption and for a strong involvement in its review process.” ([G20 2017](#): p. 14 f., emphases added)

## General References to Issues Related to Social Cohesion in Recent G20 Leaders' Communiqués

### Osaka, Japan, June 2019: G20 Osaka Leaders' Declaration ([G20 2019](#))

- “We will further lead efforts to foster development and address other global challenges to pave the way toward an inclusive and sustainable world, as envisioned in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.” ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 3)
- “In the spirit of enhancing cooperation, we affirm that carefully calibrated macroeconomic and structural policies tailored to country-specific circumstances are necessary to address excessive imbalances and mitigate the risks to achieving the G20 goal of strong, sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth.” ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 6)
- “Innovation is an important driver for economic growth, which can also contribute to advancing towards the SDGs and enhancing inclusiveness. [...]We share the notion of a human-centered future society, which is being promoted by Japan as Society 5.0. As digitalization is transforming every aspect of our economies and societies, we recognize the critical role played by effective use of data, as an enabler of economic growth, development and social well-being.” ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 10)
- “The responsible development and use of Artificial Intelligence (AI) can be a driving force to help advance the SDGs and to realize a sustainable and inclusive society. [...]We reaffirm the importance of bridging the digital divide and fostering the adoption of digitalization among micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) and all individuals, particularly vulnerable groups and also encourage networking and experience-sharing among cities for the development of smart cities.” ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 12)
- “Taking into account the commonalities and differences among G20 demographics, we recognize the importance of promoting an healthy and active ageing society that enables workers to participate in the labour market at older ages, while continuing to increase participation of youth, women and persons with disabilities in economic activities. [...] We recognize that emerging new forms of work, particularly those driven by technological innovation can be a source of job opportunities but may also pose challenges for decent work and social protection systems.” ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 21)
- “Gender equality and women’s empowerment are essential for achieving sustainable and inclusive economic growth. We reconfirm their importance in all aspects of our policies and as a cross-cutting issue at upcoming Summits. We note that further progress has been made towards the Brisbane Goal, to reduce the gap in labour force participation between men and women by 25 per cent by 2025. We take note of the progress report Women at Work in G20 Countries prepared by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and OECD, and acknowledge the need to accelerate our efforts.” ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 22)

- “We also encourage innovation, skills training and lifelong education for all, in attracting new entrants and empowering youth and women in the agro-food sector. We recognize the importance of developing sustainable, science-based and resilient agro-food value chains, in an inclusive and equitable manner, including family farming and small scale farmers, which will also contribute to revitalizing rural areas.” ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 25)
- “Large movements of refugees are a global concern with humanitarian, political, social and economic consequences. We emphasize the importance of shared actions to address the root causes of displacement and to respond to growing humanitarian needs.” ([G20 2019](#): paragraph 42)

**Buenos Aires, Argentina, December 2018: Building consensus for fair and sustainable development ([G20 2018](#))**

- “Infrastructure is a key driver of economic prosperity, sustainable development and inclusive growth.” ([G20 2018](#): paragraph 10)
- “Large movements of refugees are a global concern with humanitarian, political, social and economic consequences. We emphasize the importance of shared actions to address the root causes of displacement and to respond to growing humanitarian needs.” ([G20 2018](#): paragraph 17)

**Hamburg, Germany, July 2017 - G20 Leaders’ Declaration: Shaping an interconnected world ([G20 2017](#))**

- “Progressing our joint objective in the G20 – strong, sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth – remains our highest priority.” ([G20 2017](#): p. 2)
- “We recognise that the benefits of international trade and investment have not been shared widely enough. We need to better enable our people to seize the opportunities and benefits of economic globalisation.” ([G20 2017](#): p. 3)
- “Well-functioning labour markets contribute to inclusive and cohesive societies and resilient economies. Digitalisation offers the opportunity for creating new and better jobs, while at the same time raising challenges regarding skills, social protection and job quality. We therefore recognise the need to educate and train people with the necessary skills for the future of work, the importance of opportunities to re- and upskill throughout their working lives, and assist them to successfully adapt to change, in accordance with each member’s domestic social framework.” ([G20 2017](#): p. 6)
- “We recognise the important role of vocational education and training, including quality apprenticeship in integrating young people into the labour market. In this regard, we acknowledge that it is particularly effective when it provides coordinated high quality school- and work-based learning and when it is built on cooperation among governments, business communities and social partners.” ([G20 2017](#): p.6)

- “Enhanced equal access to the labour market, property, quality employment and financial services for women and men are fundamental for achieving gender equality and full realisation of their rights as well as a prerequisite for sustainable and inclusive growth. We are making progress in achieving our 2014 Brisbane commitment to reduce the gender gap in labour force participation by 25 percent by 2025 but agree that more needs to be done.” ([G20 2017](#): p. 11)
- “Digitalisation and access to ICT serve as powerful catalysts for the economic empowerment and inclusion of women and girls. Access to STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) related trainings and occupations is therefore key to establish an enabling environment for women’s empowerment. We welcome the launch of the #eSkills4Girls initiative to promote opportunities and equal participation for women and girls in the digital economy, in particular in low income and developing countries (see Annex).” ([G20 2017](#): p. 11)
- “In order to scale up support for women’s entrepreneurship, we welcome the launch of the Women Entrepreneurs Financing Initiative (We-Fi), housed at the World Bank Group (see Annex). The We-Fi will support ongoing G20 efforts to reduce barriers to financial inclusion and increase women’s access to capital, markets and technical assistance as well as contribute to achieving the goals of the G20 Africa Partnership and the G20 Entrepreneurship Action Plan.” ([G20 2017](#): p. 11)
- “We launch the G20 Africa Partnership in recognition of the opportunities and challenges in African countries as well as the goals of the 2030 Agenda. Our joint efforts will foster sustainable and inclusive economic growth and development, in response to the needs and aspirations of African countries, contributing to create decent employment particularly for women and youth, thus helping to address poverty and inequality as root causes of migration. The Partnership includes related initiatives, such as #eSkills4Girls, Rural Youth Employment, African Renewable Energy and facilitates investment Compacts, as outlined in the Annex.” ([G20 2017](#): p. 13)
- “We support those countries that choose to develop pathways for migration, underline the importance of nationally determined integration and endorse the G20 Policy Practices for the Fair and Effective Labour Market Integration of Regular Migrants and Recognised Refugees.” ([G20 2017](#): p. 14)

## Recent Relevant G20 Documents and Initiatives

- [Women at Work in G20 countries: Progress and policy action](#), paper prepared under Japan's G20 Presidency 2019
- [G20 Fukuoka Policy Priorities on Aging and Financial Inclusion](#), prepared by the GPFi and the OECD for the Japanese G20 Presidency
- [G20 Initiative on Human Capital Investment for Sustainable Development](#), G20 Development Working Group (DWG)
- [G20 Anti-Corruption Action Plan 2019-2021](#), G20 Argentina 2018
- [Buenos Aires Action Plan](#), see section 3. Fostering Inclusive Growth
- [G20 Menu of Policy Options for the Future of Work](#), G20 Framework Working Group, July 2018
- [G20 Initiative for Early Childhood Development](#), G20 Argentina 2018
- [G20 Call on Financing for Inclusive Business](#), G20 Argentina 2018
- [G20 Policy Guide: Digitisation and informality - Harnessing digital financial inclusion for individuals and MSMEs in the informal economy](#), G20 Argentina 2018
- [Hamburg Action Plan](#), see "ii. Promoting Inclusive Growth" in section 2. Framework for Strong, Sustainable, Balanced and Inclusive Growth and "Financial Inclusion and Literacy" in section Financial Inclusion and Literacy
- #eSkills4Girls ([#eSkills4Girls statement](#), [online platform eSkills4Girls.org](#)), G20 Germany 2017
- Women Entrepreneurs Financing Initiative (We-Fi) ([G20 document](#) and [website](#)), G20 Germany 2017
- [Women at Work in G20 Countries](#), paper prepared for the Labour and Employment Ministers Meeting 2017 by the OECD and ILO, May 2017
- [G20 Initiative for Rural Youth Employment](#), G20 Germany 2017
- [G20 Financial Inclusion Action Plan 2017](#), [G20 Financial Inclusion Action Plan 2014](#), Financial Inclusion Action Plan 2010
- [High Level Principles on the Liability of Legal Persons](#), Annex to G20 Leaders Declaration 2017
- [High Level Principles on Organizing against Corruption](#), Annex to G20 Leaders Declaration 2017
- [High Level Principles on Countering Corruption in Customs](#), Annex to G20 Leaders Declaration 2017
- [High Level Principles on Combatting Corruption related to Illegal Trade in Wildlife and Wildlife Products](#), Annex to G20 Leaders Declaration 2017
- [G20 Anti-Corruption Action Plan 2017-2018](#), G20 China 2016

## 5. The T20 Task Forces on Social Cohesion, Global Governance and the Future of Politics Over Time

### T20 Saudi Arabia 2020: Social Cohesion and the State

#### Task Force Description

This task force will discuss innovative policies to deal with multiple forms of inequality, including income, gender and generational divides. The task force will also discuss methods to measure wealth beyond gross domestic product (GDP), as well as ways to improve the governance, legitimacy and accountability of and trust in state institutions. It will also seek to understand the role of cultural capital and the social inclusion of migrants in creating prosperous societies.

#### Task Force Priorities

- Reducing inequality and promoting citizen welfare, including beyond material prosperity
- Bridging the cross-generational divide
- Wealth measurements beyond GDP
- Improving the governance, legitimacy, accountability, and trust in state institutions
- Fostering social cohesion through innovative policies and programs
- Support for civil society and women's empowerment
- The role of cultural capital
- The social inclusion of migrants

#### Lead Co-Chair

- Suzan Alqurashi, King Abdulaziz University

### T20 Japan 2019: Task Force 6: Social Cohesion, Global Governance and the Future of Politics

#### Task Force Description

Task Force 6 deals with the unprecedented crisis in multilateralism at the global level, disruption of social cohesion at the domestic level, how nations could address these issues, and what the future of politics should look like. In recent years, there has been political backlash against globalization in many parts of the world. If populism with its “we-first,” protectionist approach were to spread globally, we may experience significant disruption in global supply chains, deterioration of trade and investment, if not a collapse of the liberal trading system. Therefore, political leaders must address these issues at global fora such as the G20. TF6 previously pointed out that social prosperity has become decoupled from economic prosperity (see Snower 2018). For countries with weak social safety nets, the redistribution of income from winners to losers becomes essential. For countries with sufficient social safety nets, income redistribution may not be enough to improve social prosperity; innovative policies will be needed. TF6 aims to conduct robust analysis of populism from a socio-economic perspective. It



also seeks to identify implications for global governance to help the G20 consider optimal formula and institutional arrangements that will allow high levels of international economic cooperation while reducing conflicts. TF6 will produce concrete policy measures to address these issues and shed light on the relationship among social cohesion, global governance, and the future of politics.

#### **Lead Co-Chairs**

- Nobuo Inaba, Ricoh Institute of Sustainability and Business
- Dennis Snower, Global Solutions Initiative (GSI)

#### **Co-Chairs**

- Helmut Anheier, Hertie School of Governance
- Masahiro Kawai, University of Tokyo / Economic Research Institute for Northeast Asia (ERINA)
- Atsushi Nakajima, Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry
- Julia Pomares, CIPPEC
- Hideaki Shiroyama, University of Tokyo

[Source: <https://t20japan.org/task-forces/social-cohesion-global-governance-and-the-future-of-politics/>]

## **T20 Argentina 2018: Social Cohesion, Global Governance and the Future of Politics**

#### **Task Force Description**

This Task Force has the ultimate aim of mitigating the risks of social and political crises and produce a more cohesive, fair and inclusive society.

[Source: <https://t20argentina.org/task-forces/>]

#### **Co-Chairs**

- Helmut Anheier, Hertie School of Governance
- Marc Fleurbaey, International Panel on Social Progress (IPSP)
- Félix Peña, Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)
- Julia Pomares, Center for the Implementation of Public Policies Promoting Equity and Growth (CIPPEC)
- Dennis Snower, Kiel Institute for the World Economy

## **T20 Germany 2017: Global Inequality and Social Cohesion**

#### **Task Force Description**

Due to economic convergence by large economies such as China and India, indicators of global inequality have recently shown signs of moderate reduction. Nonetheless, global inequality remains high by any standard. This, together with rising trends in within-country inequality, can harm cohesion within societies and undermine global political agreements.

This taskforce investigates policies that can make economic growth more inclusive, both nationally and internationally, taking account of the multiple dimensions of inequality and well-being, and relating to the SDGs framework. It also looks at the specific contribution to social cohesion that international civil society can make.

#### **Co-Chairs**

- Helmut Anheier, Hertie School of Governance
- Marc Fleurbaey, IPSP International Panel for Social Progress (and Princetown University)
- Gianluca Grimalda, Kiel Institute for the World Economy (IfW)

## References

- G20 (2014): “G20 Leaders' Communiqué 2014”, available online at [http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/2014/brisbane\\_g20\\_leaders\\_summit\\_communique.pdf](http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/2014/brisbane_g20_leaders_summit_communique.pdf), checked on February 28, 2019.
- G20 (2017): “G20 Leaders' Declaration: Shaping an Interconnected World”, available online at <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/2017/2017-G20-leaders-declaration.html>, checked on March 5, 2019.
- G20 (2018): “G20 Leaders’ declaration: Building consensus for fair and sustainable development”, available online at <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/2018/2018-leaders-declaration.html>, checked on March 5, 2019.
- G20 (2019): “G20 Osaka Leaders' Declaration”, available online at <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/2019/2019-g20-osaka-leaders-declaration.html>, checked on September 3, 2019.
- Kirton, John and Ella Kokotsis, Jenilee Guebert, Caroline Bracht (2016): “Compliance Coding Manual for International Institutional Commitments”, University of Toronto, May 2, 2016. Available online at [www.g7.utoronto.ca/compliance/compliance-coding-manual-2016.pdf](http://www.g7.utoronto.ca/compliance/compliance-coding-manual-2016.pdf), checked on February 25, 2019.
- T20 Japan (2018): [Internal document produced by the T20 Japan 2019 describing the T20 Task Forces in 2019], unpublished.