



Universität Hamburg

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LA POLITICA DE LA PROTECCION SOCIAL DURANTE TIEMPOS DE CRISIS

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Transferencias monetarias durante la pandemia en America Latina



1) EL ALCANCE & SUFICIENCIA DURANTE COVID-19

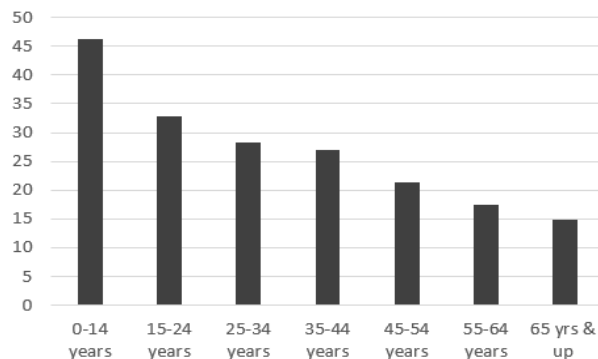
2) QUE EXPLICA LAS DIFERENCIAS ENTRE PAISES



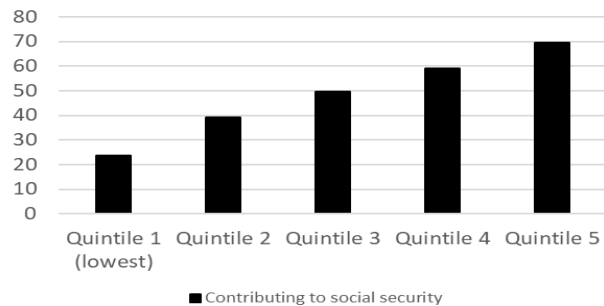
1. Midiendo la rapidez, alcance y suficiencia de las transferencias monetarias (Blofield, C. Giambruno, F. Filgueira)

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Pobreza por edad (%) ECLAC 2019



The share of the employed (%) who contribute to social security by income quintile, average of our ten countries (IADB, 2019)



Transferencias a los hogares socialmente mas vulnerables

- Transferencias hacia los niños niñas y adolescentes (programas existentes)
- Nuevos programas de emergencia hacia los trabajadores y hogares informales

Alcance/cobertura

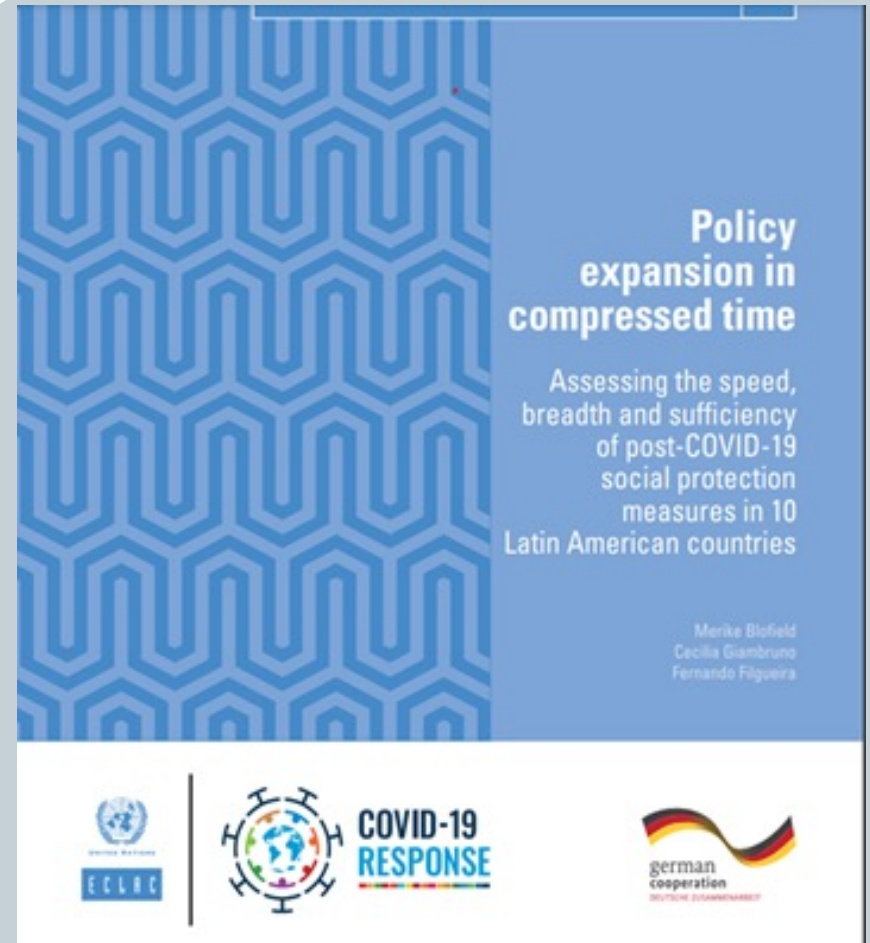
- CCTs/TMs: el porcentaje de todos los NNA cubiertos
- Trabajadores y hogares informales: el porcentaje de toda la población ocupada cubierta

Suficiencia

- El valor como porcentaje de la línea de pobreza extrema nacional urbana per capita, por miembro de un hogar con cuatro personas

La seleccion de casos

- 10 paises en America Latina
- Democraticos, un nivel minimo de capacidad estatal y transparencia en reportaje
- La seleccion de casos durante las ultimas dos Semanas de Marzo, 2020



Cobertura en TMs hacia NNAs y hogares informales, durante los primeros 12 meses de COVID-19

Figura 1: Evolucion en cobertura en TMs existentes hacia NNA antes y durante COVID-19 durante los primeros 12 meses de COVID-19

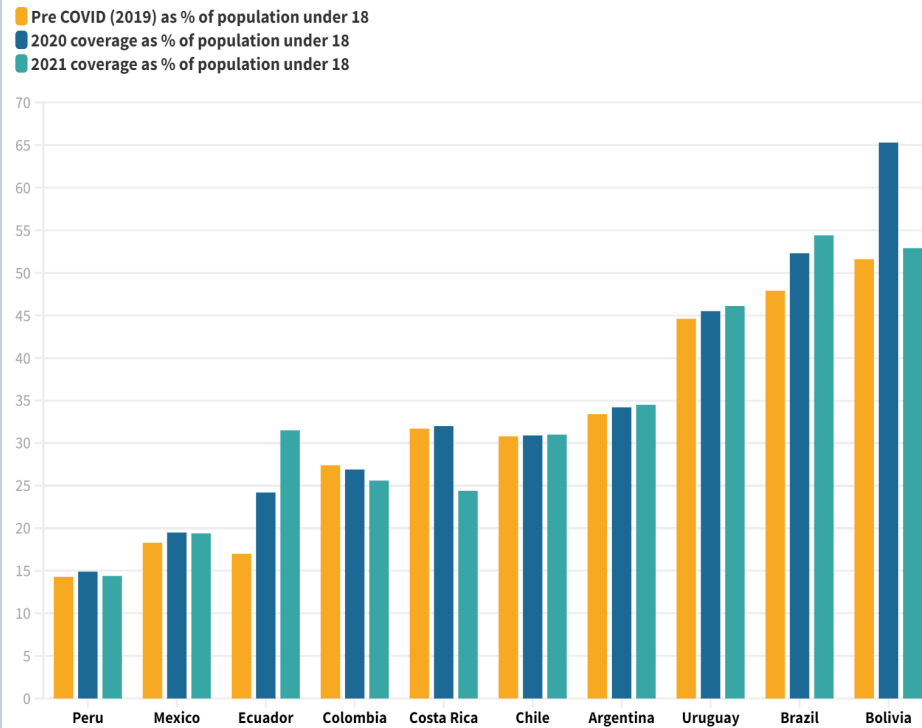
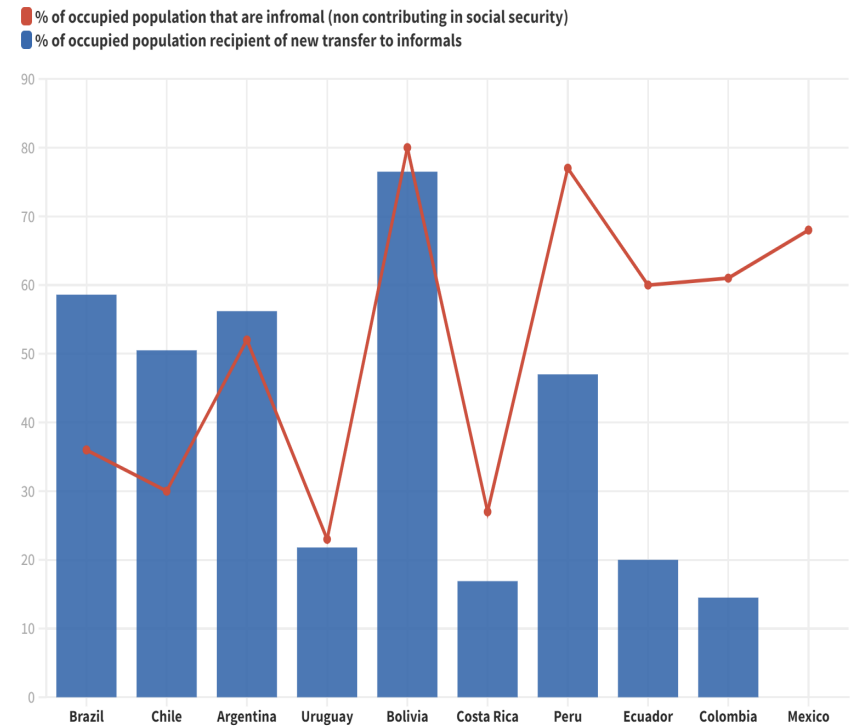


Figura 2. Cobertura pico en los nuevos programas emergencia de TM en relacion a toda la poblacion ocupada y la poblacion ocupada informal entre Abril 2020 y Marzo 2021

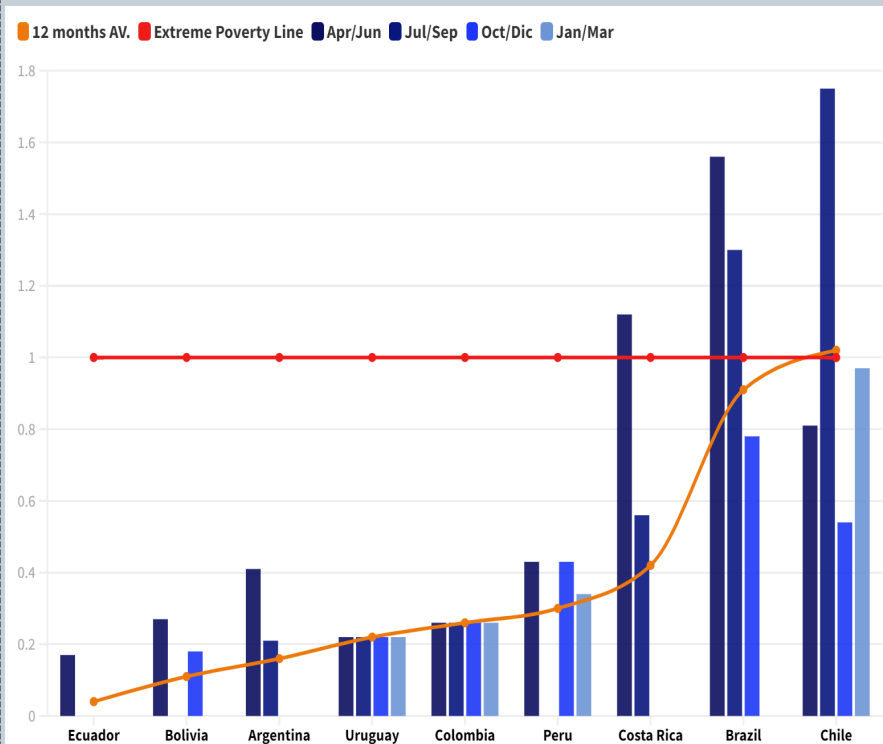
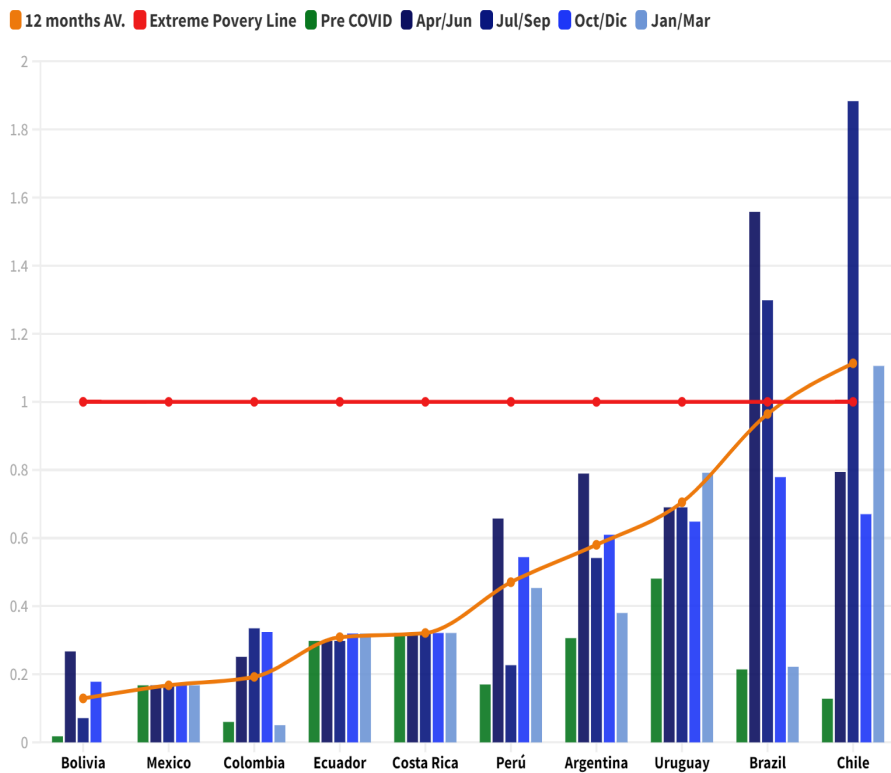


Suficiencia de las transferencias monetarias, los primeros 12 meses

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Figura 3. La suficiencia de las TM hacia los niños como porcentaje de la línea de pobreza extrema, Abril 2020-Marzo 2021, promedio del trimestre y promedio anual

Figura 4. La suficiencia de las TM de los nuevos programas de emergencia como porcentaje de la línea de pobreza extrema, Abril 2020-Marzo 2021, promedio del trimestre y promedio anual



2. La respuesta en transferencias monetarias y el marco teorico

	BROAD COVERAGE Demand-driven	RESTRICTED COVERAGE	NO CHANGE
HIGH ADEQUACY	BRAZIL & CHILE		
MIXED/ LOW ADEQUACY	ARGENTINA, COSTA RICA, PERU, URUGUAY		
LOW ADEQUACY	BOLIVIA	COLOMBIA & ECUADOR	
NO CHANGE			MEXICO

	Strong	Moderate	Restricted	None
Countries	Brazil	Argentina T1	Colombia	Mexico
	Chile	Bolivia	Ecuador	
		Costa Rica T1	Argentina T2	
		Peru	Costa Rica T2	
		Uruguay		

- **Legados de politica** (Pierson 1996, Huber and Stepes 2001, Arza et al 2022, Castiglioni 2018, Niedzwicki and Pribble 2018, etc)

- Mas proteccion existente → respuesta mas expansiva

- ✦ Los actores politicos

- ✦ Las normas sociales

- **Gobierno dividido** (de la O 2015; Diaz-Cayeros, Estevez & Magaloni 2016)

→ **Credit-claiming vs blame avoidance**

- Un gobierno dividido genera más presión para actuar y una respuesta más fuerte en **condiciones de espacio fiscal**.

- Un gobierno dividido limita la respuesta en contextos de **fuertes restricciones fiscales**.

Las rutas concretas de los países

	Broad legacies	Moderate legacies	Weak legacies
Divided government AND Fiscal space	Brazil	Bolivia Chile	Peru
Divided government AND Fiscal constraints		Argentina Costa Rica	Ecuador
Unified government AND Fiscal space	Uruguay	Colombia	Mexico
Unified government AND Fiscal constraints			

- Brasil y Chile
- Argentina y Costa Rica
- Peru y Ecuador
- Colombia y Uruguay
- Mexico

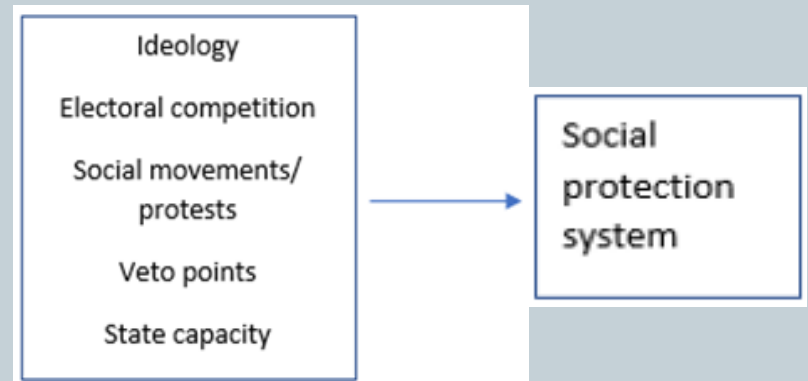
	Strong	Moderate	Restricted	None
Countries	Brazil Chile	Argentina T1 Bolivia Costa Rica T1 Peru Uruguay	Ecuador Argentina T2 Costa Rica T2	Mexico

La política en tiempos de crisis es diferente

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Estos resultados no son directamente influidos por los "sospechosos habituales"

- **Ideología** (Huber & Stephens 2012, Martinez Franzoni & Sanchez-Ancochea 2016, Pribble 2013)
- **Competencia electoral/democracia** (Garay 2016, Holland 2017, Diaz, Estevez & Magaloni 2016; Niedzwicki & Anria 2019, Altman & Castiglioni 2020)
- **Movimientos sociales/protestas** (Garay 2016; Guzman-Concha & Ciccía 2020)
- **Veto points** (Huber & Stephens 2001)
- **Argumentos funcionalistas** (trade-offs in the context of pandemic severity)
- **Capacidad del estado** (Niedzwicki 2018)



Cuales son las lecciones politicas?

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- Con la voluntad politica, los gobiernos pudieron hacer bastante
 - Gobierno dividido → respuesta mas amplia pero financiacion mas complicada
- A pesar de los avances (temporarios) en proteccion social,
 - La mitad de los NNA siguen viviendo en pobreza
- Como financiar una cobertura amplia y estable?
- **El espacio fiscal <- espacio politico**

Implicancias conceptuales y teoricas



- Conceptual: Medición sistemática de la cobertura y la suficiencia en las TMs en condiciones de alta informalidad
- Teoría:
 - 1) Policy legacies in democracies are a buffer
 - 2) El papel del gobierno dividido –como pagar la expansión de las politicas sociales
- Esta dinámica es parecida en otros contextos nacionales?
- Crearon las respuestas nuevos legados/expectativas?



GRACIAS!



Table 7 Pre-COVID CCT coverage and policy response

	2019 CCT coverage (percent of under-eighteen-year-olds)	Classification of policy legacy	Policy response
Brazil	47.9 (regular)	Broad	Strong
Chile	30.8 (regular)	Moderate	Strong
Argentina	33.4 (regular)	Moderate	Moderate→restricted
Bolivia	51.6 (not regular-annual)	Moderate ¹	Moderate
Costa Rica	31.7 (regular)	Moderate	Moderate→restricted
Peru	14.3 (regular)	Weak	Moderate
Uruguay	44.6 (regular)	Broad	Moderate
Colombia	27.4 (regular)	Moderate	Restricted
Ecuador	17.0 (regular)	Weak	Restricted
Mexico	18.3 (regular)	Weak	None

Source: ECLAC (2019a). Classification: >40% = Broad; between 25 and 35% = Moderate; <20% = Weak.

¹ While Bolivia's cash transfer has high breadth, given that it is only delivered once a year, we classify it as moderate.

Measures of fiscal space and policy response

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	GDP Growth (2019) (a)	Central Government Debt as Share of GDP (2019) (b)	S&P Credit Rating (2019) (c)	IMF Agreement in 2020 & 2021 (d)	Fiscal Space Constraints	Policy response
Brazil	1.4	84.2	BB-	None	Low	Strong
Chile	1.0	27.9	A+	Flexible credit line	Low	Strong
Argentina	-2.1	90.4	CC	Standby	High	Moderate → restricted
Bolivia	2.2	42.4	BB-	None	Low	Moderate
Costa Rica	2.2	58.5	B+	Rapid Financing Instrument (2020) Extended Fund Facility (2021)	High	Moderate → restricted
Peru	2.2	23.2	BBB+	Flexible credit line	Low	Moderate
Uruguay	0.3	53.9	BBB	None	Low	Moderate
Colombia	3.3	42.0	BBB-	Flexible credit line	Low	Restricted
Ecuador	0	50.2	B-	Extended Fund Facility (2019&2021) Rapid Financing Instrument (2021)	High	Restricted
Mexico	-0.1	36.4	BBB+	Flexible credit line	Low	None

Source:

(a) (International Monetary Fund, 2019) (b) (International Monetary Fund, 2019)

(c) (ECLAC, 2020) (d) (International Monetary Fund, 2021a)

Elections, Social Mobilization, and Policy Response

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	National Elections in 2020 or 2021 (a)	Civil Society Strength (2015- 2019) (b)	Policy Response
Brazil	0	2.3	Strong
Chile	1	2.4	Strong
Argentina	0	2.5	Moderate→restricted
Bolivia	1	2.3	Moderate
Costa Rica	0	2.8	Moderate→restricted
Peru	1	2.2	Moderate
Uruguay	0	2.5	Moderate
Colombia	0	2.3	Restricted
Ecuador	1	1.6	Restricted
Mexico	1	1.9	None

Notes and Sources:

a. Bolivia Presidential election Oct 2020; Chile Presidential election November/December 2021; Ecuador Presidential election February 2021; Perú Presidential Election April 2021; Mexico Congressional Election June 2021.

b. V-DEM Database (2021) based on Altman and Castiglioni (2020). The value presented in the table is simple average 2015 to 2019 of the average of three civil society indicators of the Varieties of Democracy database: (i) Civil society consultation (v2cscnsult), (ii) Civil society participatory environment (v2csprcpt), and (iii) Civil society entry and exit (v2cseeorgs).

Government Ideology and Policy Response

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	Government ideology	Policy response
Brasil	Right	Strong
Chile	Right	Strong
Argentina	Left	Moderate → restricted
Bolivia	Right 7 months/Left 5 months	Moderate
Costa Rica	Center	Moderate → restricted
Peru	Center 7 months/Center 5 months	Moderate
Uruguay	Right	Moderate
Colombia	Right	Restricted
Ecuador	Left	Restricted
Mexico	Left	None

State Strength and Policy Response

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	Vaccine Coverage First Dose DPT, 2018 (a)	WGI Government Effectiveness Score, 2020 (b)	State strength classification	Policy response
Brasil	87	-0.19	Intermediate	Strong
Chile	99	1.06	Strong	Strong
Argentina	91	-0.09	Intermediate	Moderate→restricted
Bolivia	89	-0.70	Weak	Moderate
Costa Rica	95	0.42	Strong	Moderate→restricted
Peru	90	-0.07	Intermediate	Moderate
Uruguay	96	0.70	Strong	Moderate
Colombia	92	0.07	Intermediate	Restricted
Ecuador	86	-0.40	Weak	Restricted
Mexico	90	-0.16	Intermediate	None

Covid-19 Lockdowns, Pandemic Severity, and Policy Response

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	Mean of stringency index (a)		Cumulative reported covid-related deaths per million (b)*		Policy response
	By 30-Sep-20	By 31-Mar-21	By 30-Sep-20	By 31-Mar-21	
Brazil	71	68	673	1505	Strong
Chile	73	76	663	1204	Strong
Argentina	85	82	371	1225	Moderate → restricted
Bolivia	99	69	673	1036	Moderate
Costa Rica	68	64			Moderate → restricted
Peru	85	81	2462	4299	Moderate
Uruguay	51	55	14	280	Moderate
Colombia	80	76	507	1237	Restricted
Ecuador	76	69	635	942	Restricted
Mexico	67	67	596	1560	None

Source: (a) Hale *et al.*, (2021) (b) Ritchie *et al.*, (2020) * = rounded to one

Notes: The stringency index is a composite measure based on nine response indicators including school closures, workplace closures, and travel bans, rescaled to a value from 0 to 100 (100 = strictest). Values corresponds to an average from March 1st 2020, to September 30 2020, and from March 1st 2020 to March 1st 2021.

Federalism and bicameralism as veto points and policy response

	Presidential	Federal	Bicameral	Policy Response
Brazil	yes	yes	Yes	Strong
Chile	Yes	No	Yes	Strong
Argentina	Yes	Yes	Yes	Moderate→res tricted
Bolivia	Yes	No	yes	Moderate
Costa Rica	Yes	no	no	Moderate→res tricted
Peru	Yes	No	no	Moderate
Uruguay	Yes	No	yes	Moderate
Colombia	Yes	No	yes	Restricted
Ecuador	yes	No	no	Restricted
Mexico	yes	yes	yes	None

Source on bicameralism: (Albala, 2017)

Policy implications of social protection responses

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- **State capacity building:**
Demand-driven policies → stronger cash transfer policy infrastructure
- **Policy preparedness for crisis situations**
- **Advocate for a universal social protection floor**



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T7 Task Force Strengthening social cohesion

POLICY BRIEF

**TOWARDS A GLOBAL UNIVERSAL
BASIC INCOME FOR CHILDREN**

04.05.2022

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