I. Introduction

Why do some mineral-rich countries manage to channel their resources into sustainable economic and social policies, while others do not? What are the factors that impede resource-rich countries in the South from investing more of their wealth in social development? Can boosting mineral rents open fiscal space for transformative social policies while at the same time promoting democracy, social inclusion and economic development?

As part of its 2005-2009 research agenda, the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) Social Policy and Development Programme is conducting research on the topic of Financing Social Policy. This research is examining the developmental impact associated with different financing mechanisms and revenue sources, including taxation, social insurance, social and pension funds, mineral rents, remittances, and aid in terms of their potential for contributing to sustainable social policies in developing countries. Research on “Financing Social Policy in Mineral-rich Countries” will be carried out in two phases.

Phase I: Exploratory Phase
- Commissioning of 4 thematic papers and 4 overview country studies
- Methodology workshop

Phase II: In-depth Country Case Studies
- Coordination of multidisciplinary research teams in 8 countries and commissioning of substantive country reports
- Final conference
- Publications and dissemination

UNRISD research has demonstrated that social policy is a central instrument to achieve a socially-inclusive and democratically-anchored development process. Although this is increasingly recognized, the question of economic and fiscal affordability tends to dominate policy and scholarly debates. Therefore, one of the key

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challenges for research and policy making is to determine which financial arrangements would allow social policy to be sustainable, equitable and conducive to economic development. What options are available to developing countries that will enable them to mobilize financial resources, particularly the wealth generated in foreign reserves from sources like mineral rents, for social development purposes? What are the challenges and constraints, what institutional and policy reforms are necessary, and what lessons can be drawn from the past?

This research will systematically analyse the relationship between mineral wealth and social policy decisions in developing countries, bearing in mind that social policy has multiple functions. The project is situated, then, within the former UNRISD research programme *Social Policy in a Development Context* which takes a broad approach to social policy, defining the concept as going beyond basic protection and poverty reduction goals, impacting on the productive, reproductive, distributive and protective sphere simultaneously.

**Box 1. The Multiple Roles of Social Policy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Production</th>
<th>Reproduction</th>
<th>Protection</th>
<th>Redistribution</th>
<th>Equity, Inclusion, Cohesion and Rights</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enhancing productive potential of people through investment in health and education, decent work conditions and labour standards</td>
<td>Sharing the burden of social reproduction and care among members of society</td>
<td>Protecting people from unstable and inequitable effects of markets</td>
<td>Enhancing equity and equality</td>
<td>Fostering equitable and inclusive societies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smoothing business cycles through automatic stabilisers</td>
<td>Creating gender-sensitive institutions and programmes supporting reproductive and care-related tasks</td>
<td>Protecting people from changes in circumstances of life (maternity disability, sickness, survivorship, ageing)</td>
<td>Broadening domestic markets and strengthening demand</td>
<td>Strengthening social cohesion, a notion of citizenship and democratisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stabilising consumption and demand of low-income groups</td>
<td></td>
<td>Increasing stability and legitimation of the political system</td>
<td></td>
<td>Enhancing human and socio-economic rights</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: based on (Mkandawire 2004b)

The issue of financing social policy emerged repeatedly in that research, in particular with regard to the late industrializers, who introduced developmental social policies at a comparatively earlier stage than the pioneers. One of the lessons that came out of these studies was that the financial dimension of social policy making has

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to be confronted in order to avoid falling into the traps of either not spending (austerity model), or, engaging in expansionist “give-but-not-take” policies that are unsustainable in economic terms. The challenge is therefore to create sustainable funding mechanisms and synergies between economic and social policies in terms of growth, equity and redistribution.

Applying an integrated approach to economic and social policy making is imperative for understanding the complex links between the determinants of the social policy finance regime, the instruments, processes and institutions through which resources are mediated, and most importantly, how this impacts on social development and well-being. Likewise, developing countries with large mineral reserves are confronted with the difficult challenge of finding ways to avoid the so-called “resource curse”. Doing so involves more than just technical expertise in natural resource management; if sustainable solutions are to be found, these economic policy questions must be integrated with discussions of social policy, accountability, and governance. In a rapidly changing global context, the political economy of mineral rents and how it is linked to social policy decisions and social development outcomes is a frontier for development policy, and one in which UNRISD is well-poised to link innovative academic research with concrete policy recommendations.

In the framework of the larger research project on Financing Social Policy, the following pages outline the justification for UNRISD research on mineral rents in relation to social policy in the developing world, key research questions to be addressed in commissioned papers, UNRISD’s profile and why we are uniquely positioned to carry out this research, as well as timeline and budget anticipated to ensure efficient and high-quality research outputs.

II. Financing Social Policy: A Framework for Research

The financing of social policy is about resource mobilization and public finance issues as well as about financing mechanisms and instruments. In general, social policies have to be financed in a sustainable and equitable way in order to contribute to poverty reduction and development. How much public resources are channelled via the social budget (including labour market and agricultural policies) is the result of the availability of funds, administrative effectiveness, policy priorities and the division of labour between state and market in social provisioning. In the context of globalization, the capacity for domestic revenue generation has been undermined by growing income and asset concentration, market liberalization and labour market problems. On the other hand, there has been an increase in other types of revenues like remittances, aid or natural resource rents at least for some countries.

From a macroeconomic point of view, funds are fungible and in the end, social spending has to be financed out of aggregate current income and debt. However, the way social expenditure is financed is not neutral in its distributional or developmental effects. Public expenditures follow different rules if compared to private spending and domestic resources have a different bearing on welfare policies and development than foreign resources. Usually there is a link between the source of finance and the character of the benefit, for example universal benefits are financed out of general taxes, individual insurance plans by workers contributions and occupationally based social insurance by workers and employers contributions. However, if we look at
external resources and private funds, there is no clear relationship. Likewise, different financing techniques (pay-as-you-go versus fully-funded schemes, user fees) are associated with different impacts on production, redistribution and protection. Social insurance funds, for example, have frequently been used to support the needs of industry and infrastructure development. Private funded insurance plans are supposed to contribute to the development of local capital and financial markets, but can have adverse effects on coverage and equity. Ideally, revenue and expenditure policies for social provisioning have to respond to principles of efficiency, equity and democratic accountability, and they should be embedded in and support a broader macroeconomic framework that is conducive to productive investment and employment.

The overarching research project examines the linkages between revenue sources and structures and social policy and development across various regime types and development contexts. Are certain resources linked to specific social policy regimes and government responses? What political and economic challenges do they pose? And how can the quantity of resources for social provisioning be increased and best allocated in order to enhance human development and poverty reduction?

The research focuses on the two major groups of financial resources: domestic public revenues like taxation and insurance contributions and sources of foreign currency such as aid, remittances, mineral rents and global funds. The primary objective of the Financing Social Policy project is to explicitly link the public finance and social policy spheres of policy research as a framework for examining concrete options available to developing countries. A parallel aim is to increase awareness on the fact that structures and design, together with roles and aims of social policy in developing countries, are the result of complex processes. These processes are simultaneously interpreted and influenced by the scientific community, development practitioners and international organizations. In order to understand these complex realities, we promote an integrative approach to scientific discussions that formerly have been compartmentalized. Our aim is to strengthen both the instrumental and intrinsic values of social policy in order to further inclusive and dynamic development patterns in the South.

Below is a simple framework for analysis when dealing with the different dimensions of financing social policies. It should become clear that even with a focus on financial resources, social spending and the budget process, important variables to be considered in the case studies include regime type (and its historical determinants), basic country characteristics, institutional arrangements and actors.
Box N° 2
Financing Social Policy: A Framework for Comparative Research

Social and Economic Characteristics
- Growth and income level
- Stability
- Equality and equity
- Human development
- Size of informal sector
- Rural versus urban economy

Regime/Model Type
- Liberal/socialdemocrat ic/ corporatist
- Nordic, East Asian etc.
- Democratic, authoritarian
- Welfare mix

Conditionality vs. Rights
- Macro (SAP and PRSP)
- Meso and micro level (conditional transfers)
- International rights
- Constitutional and other national rights and entitlements

Institutional Structure of Social Policy/Provisioning
- Public, private or mixed schemes
- Extent of group solidarity
- Insurance/protection programmes
- Social services
- Labour market policies
- Agricultural policies
- Microfinance
- Norms and regulation
- Informal systems/Community schemes
- Actors involved

Financial and Non-Monetary Resources
- Contributions
- Fees, out-of-pocket payments
- Taxation
- Others (rents, investment income, remittances, aid, charity, debt, global funds and taxes)
- In-kind transfers
- Un-paid (care) work

Budget Process
- Transparency
- Efficiency
- Accountability
- Participation
- Decentralization
- Incidence
- Priorities
III. Mineral Rents and Social Development

If the lack of sufficient and stable revenues is considered a major problem for social policies in developing countries, those countries that are richly endowed with natural resources, especially oil and gas, should presumably be fortunate. During the last years, many of these countries have experienced a mineral “bonanza” (especially due to skyrocketing oil prices), which potentially could produce a sort of “big push” for the development process. This view is backed by conventional (neo-classical) wisdom that mineral deposits are part of a country’s capital and – if extracted and productively used - lead to more output and higher per capita income (Davis and Tilton 2002).

Most countries supporting the mining sector do not see specialization in mineral production as a desirable end in itself. Instead, they hope that mineral exports will generate the foreign exchange to finance industrialization, which, in the long run, will lead to less dependence on mineral exports through export diversification sustained by a broad industrial base.

And yet there is considerable evidence that many resource-abundant countries have not been able to utilize their resources to induce a process of sustained economic growth, let alone social development involving equitable distribution of the fruits of this natural wealth and overall improvements of the welfare of the citizens. During the late 1980s, a growing body of empirical studies supported the “resource curse” thesis, which stated that resource abundance hampers economic growth through its imposition of structural, monetary and policy constraints in the development process. Many studies tried to establish a positive relationship between resource abundance and poor economic performance.

Box 3. Unpacking the Resource Curse

The literature supporting the resource curse thesis is based on the following arguments (Stevens 2003; Schultd and Acosta 2006):

- There is supposed to be a long-term decline in the terms of trade for commodities vis-à-vis manufactured goods (the famous Prebisch-Singer thesis);
- Dependence on mineral rents creates revenue volatility because of unstable prices in world markets, which is detrimental for investment and public finance;
- The enclave nature of mineral based industries has few linkages with the rest of the economy and provides little direct benefit to local communities;
- The macroeconomic effects of foreign-exchange inflows (“Dutch disease effect”) can have detrimental effects on competitiveness, balance-of-payments and debt and eventually crowd-out investment in sectors with higher value-added and skill requirements;
- Resource abundance is frequently accompanied by an increasing role of the state, which (especially but not exclusively from a neoliberal point of view) can produce further problems associated with “government failure”: bad decision making, corruption, rent seeking, protectionist policies, inefficiency and distortions;
- Socio-cultural and political impacts refer to the nature of regimes found in resource-rich countries (for example rentier states, developmental versus predatory regimes), institutional capacity, existence of qualified bureaucrats and their relationship with the natural resource sector.

3 Auty 1993; Sachs and Warner 1995, 1999; Ross 2001
Nevertheless, this work is not without criticism, and results are sensitive to empirical methodology used and periods chosen (Davis and Tilton 2002; Stevens 2003, Rosser forthcoming). There are also studies showing that some countries managed to avoid the resource curse and converted their natural richness into a blessing.

**Although the literature on the natural resource-growth link is vast, there are few studies that directly deal with the social consequences of mining as well as the potential revenues from extractive industries have for social policy and development.** Lessons from resource-rich countries like the US, Canada, Australia or Norway prove that the relationship is not deterministic: resource abundance is not an irrevocable curse, but rather a challenge to policy making. Lessons derived from these countries should therefore be part of the research project.

**Box 4. Mineral Wealth and Human Development**

As regards social issues it has been suggested that mineral rich countries exhibit poor performance on human development indicators. A number of hypotheses have been advanced to explain this negative relationship between mineral wealth and social indicators. These include:

- Mining does not require the extensive development of human resources for its sustenance. This is in sharp contrast to the speculation that economic growth has been faster among exports of manufactured goods because that sector makes strong demands on skill and presses policy makers to provide broad-based education (Wood 1999);
- Mineral rich countries tend to have high levels of income inequality (Nankani 1979). There is a growing evidence suggesting that inequality may harm economic growth (World Bank 2005b);
- The enclave nature of the mining industries contributes to sharp income differentials between the mining (urban) centres and rural areas;
- Partly because of their enclave nature and partly because of the high concentration of labour in one geographical area, such economies are often under considerable pressure to provide special welfare services to their workers. This is particularly the case where the state is actively involved and where enterprise welfare is a common feature (Schuldt and Acosta 2006);
- Within the mining sector itself, the industry encourages high wage differentials between a labour aristocracy that shares the rents of the mining sector and the unskilled workers within the mining industry itself and the poor employed in the informal sector servicing the mining industry;
- Mineral rents favour armed conflict, which is definitely bad for development;
- In gender terms, the mining industry has predominantly relied on male labour.

The following questions guide UNRISD research on financing social policy in mineral-rich countries:

- What is the link between resource abundance and key social indicators in different countries?

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4 Collier 2004; Collier and Hoeffler 2005a, 2005b; UNDP 2005. The Kimberley Process Certification Scheme is one example of recent efforts aimed at reducing the impact of natural resources (in this case diamonds) on violent conflict; the process has been criticised for lack of transparency and independent monitoring.
• What politics and political regimes are engendered by mineral wealth and what are the implications of different regimes on the utilisation of mineral wealth for social development?
• What are the social policy implications of mineral wealth in developing countries?
• What policies are promising in order to tackle the macroeconomic challenges associated with mineral rents and what are the preconditions to successfully implement these policies in terms of administrative capacity and the general macroeconomic environment?
• How can economic and social goals be pursued synergistically in resource-rich countries (ECA 2002)?

IV. Workplan and Selection of Case Studies

Phase I: Thematic Papers, Overview Country Studies, Methodology Workshop

UNRISD has already obtained most of the funds (approximately USD$86,000) necessary for an exploratory phase of this project. Because of the virtual absence of systematic comparative research on the links between mineral wealth and social policy, a methodology workshop that brings together theoretical and empirical insights into the mineral rents-social policy nexus is a necessary first step. To this end, UNRISD is in the process of commissioning 8 papers, 4 of which will be thematic in nature, while the remaining 4 consist of country case studies.

Papers commissioned in this period will serve the critical purpose of generating specific hypothesis that will guide systematic comparative analysis of case studies in subsequent phases. The focus is on social policy strategies and development outcomes in a wide variety of mineral-rich country contexts. However, continuing UNRISD’s tradition of multidisciplinary research, papers commissioned will reflect a wide variety of academic backgrounds in the social sciences. Because of the breadth of their theoretical knowledge, and based on the initial findings from the overview country studies, researchers invited to the methodology workshop have the critical role of providing guidance in the selection of country case studies for Phase II.

Thematic Papers:

1) Social Policy and State Revenues in Mineral-Rich Contexts. This paper gets to the heart of this project by providing a descriptive picture of social policy patterns and expenditures in mineral-rich countries (such as the degree to which systems are universalistic versus selective in distributing rights and benefits, the prevailing types of social policy interventions, among others). Using existing social policy or welfare regime typologies (for example, Gough and Wood 2004, Seekings 2005, Esping-Anderson 1990), the author will explore whether, and to what extent, there is significant variation in social policy strategies within the universe of countries with substantial mineral wealth, as well as relative to the rest of the world more generally. In addition, this paper will outline how the composition of and the patterns of state revenue collection (including the composition of royalties from mineral rents relative to other revenues such as taxation, as well as the extent to which taxation revenue is derived from the mineral sectors) are associated with different patterns in social
policy outcomes. The paper will bring together new and existing data on state revenues as they relate to the mineral sector and juxtapose them against existing social policy or welfare regime typologies.

2) Economic Policy in Mineral-Rich Countries. While the macroeconomic challenges associated with mineral rents are well-known and common to all mineral-rich countries, the economic policy responses vary considerably from country to country. This paper will present an overview of the variety of mechanisms for coping with the threat of a Dutch disease, assess the relative success or failure of these policies in diverse contexts, and search for patterns that might explain why some macroeconomic tools may be more suitable for sustaining stability and growth in mineral-rich countries over the long run. Of particular interest are social policy interventions that have the potential to combine the goals of social security and economic stabilization (for example, pension funds).

3) Institutional Change and Developmental State Capacity in Mineral-Rich Countries. This paper aims to identify and assess the major changes in the nature of the institutions responsible for managing mineral wealth over time and across countries. What role is the state (vis-à-vis private actors, domestic or international) playing in the management of mineral windfalls, and what shape do domestic institutions take in different national contexts? What are the political and social conditions of institutional change in mineral-rich countries?

4) Development and Growth in Mineral-Rich Countries. This paper looks into the development, employment and growth dynamics of countries richly endowed with natural resources. Whereas many of these countries have suffered from low and volatile growth and poor performance in terms of employment and export diversification, others have achieved high and sustained growth and managed to diversify their economic structure away from the dominant natural resource product. What are the ingredients for a good growth performance in mineral-rich countries? Under what conditions does growth translate in higher employment and better distributional outcomes? Are their specific economic strategies for employment promotion in these contexts?

Overview Country Studies:

To complement the thematic papers in Phase I, 4 country case studies will examine the mineral rents-social policy nexus as it is manifest in very diverse contexts. The countries—Norway, Chile, Indonesia, and Nigeria—have been selected roughly according to a “most similar systems” logic. All are mineral-rich countries (where mineral rents revenues represent a significant proportion of GDP and/or government revenues), and so from a macroeconomic perspective, they share a common set of pressures and challenges. Despite facing the common threat of the

5 It is in the macroeconomic sense that these countries are similar systems. Because the non-economic independent variables that we hypothesize to be determinants of social policy and development outcomes—such as the specific nature of political, social and regulatory and institutions, and complementarities among them—are systemic (and likely interactive), we leave them unspecified at this stage, as they are likely to emerge from the overview country studies. Also, our case selection in this phase reflects an inherent trade-off involved between our need as an international research
“resource curse”, these countries have achieved very different human development outcomes. Based on the 2006 Human Development Index of the UNDP, out of a total of 177 countries, Norway ranks highest of all countries, Chile ranks 38th, Indonesia, 106th and Nigeria, 159th. The table below presents the economic importance of the mineral sector and the human development index for each country.

Table 1. Mineral Wealth and Human Development in Select Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nigeria</th>
<th>Indonesia</th>
<th>Chile</th>
<th>Norway</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic Importance of Minerals</td>
<td>Fuels represent 98% of exports; 70-80% of government revenue.</td>
<td>Fuels represented 44% of exports in 1990 but only 18% today; Minerals represented 25% of government budget in the late 1990s.</td>
<td>Ores and metals represent 54% of exports. Gross state revenues from copper 5.7% of GDP in 2006</td>
<td>Fuels represent 64% of exports, while ores and metals 7%; Petroleum accounts for 17% of government revenue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Development Index (2006)</td>
<td>0.448</td>
<td>0.711</td>
<td>0.859</td>
<td>0.965</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In addition, while the relationship between social policy and mineral rents is a major gap in the literature, the development policies and the performance of the economy and the social sector as well as the mineral sectors in these four countries are nevertheless quite well-researched, making them excellent candidates for the sort of desktop research involved in this exploratory phase of the project. Researchers are asked to bring together two separate literatures to study the implications of mineral wealth for social policy and development, paying special attention to the four themes highlighted in the paper descriptions above.

Phase II: Country Teams, Final Conference, Publications/Dissemination
In addition to identifying specific hypotheses to guide further research, one of the primary objectives of the exploratory phase of this project is to specify criteria for selecting countries for in-depth research in the second phase of the project. According to the recommendations from the methodology workshop, UNRISD will select 8 countries for further research. General criteria for the selection of case studies include regional balance (choosing for example two countries in four developing regions like sub-Saharan Africa, the MENA region, Eastern Europe and (Central) Asia, and Latin America) and appropriate indicators on the economic, social, and political importance of mineral rents for the chosen country. Except in cases of severe data limitation, or when researchers would face substantial risk or danger due to political or social unrest, UNRISD will give priority to those countries which have been historically under-studied (keeping in mind that four of the most relevant well-researched cases are covered by single overview papers).

For each country selected, a research team consisting of 4 researchers will be constituted in order to guarantee a multidisciplinary approach (ideally representing four different social science disciplines). As is common practice at UNRISD, the country-level research will be carried out by researchers from the countries concerned, and preferably also be based there. Researchers are selected on the basis of their publication record and their expertise in the area concerned. Researchers will prepare their own proposals, guided by the overall framework of the project. Country case research will be conducted over a one-year time span, culminating in a final conference in which the research teams will present their findings, and selected researchers, policy makers and other policy actors will be invited to act as discussants and chairs.

Publications and Dissemination:

Given the importance and timeliness of a research project on mineral rents and social policy, the publications and dissemination aspect is critical. Indeed, in order to fulfil its mandate, UNRISD must not only conduct rigorous comparative research on a range of questions and challenges of social development. The Institute must also endeavour to publish and disseminate its research findings so that they contribute to policy dialogues and debates. Through its outreach activities, UNRISD seeks to communicate the results of its research not only to the academic community, but also to policy makers at international, regional, national and local levels, as well as civil society, the non-governmental sector, and the general and specialized media. The Institute’s publication and dissemination strategies make use of a range of outputs relevant for, and accessible to, an ever-expanding audience. In-house publications, co-publications with internationally renowned publishers, and the UNRISD Web site are the main outputs.

Every effort is made to translate UNRISD work into as many languages as is financially possible and use a geographically diverse range of publishers in order to make the work accessible to a wide and varied audience and, in particular, to readers in the countries where research has been carried out. An effort will be made to publish the country studies in their original language (for example Spanish or French). UNRISD Programme Papers and Research and Policy Briefs are placed on the Institute’s website. The anticipated outputs of this project include:

- 3 programme papers, to be selected based on the quality of submissions
• 2 edited volumes (one from each phase) --as a special issue of a development journal and/or commercially published manuscript
• Conference News (from final conference)
• 1 5-page Research and Policy Brief in English, French, and Spanish

The Institute has a regionally diverse mailing list, a social policy as well as a gender-specific mailing list. The full list of publications will be disseminated through this list, as well as the RPB and Programme Papers. This information will be advertised widely through the Institute’s E-mail alerts. As with all UNRISD research projects, participating researchers and the research coordinator are also encouraged to publish their findings through articles in peer-reviewed journals, chapter contributions in edited volumes, and shorter articles suitable for newsletters and other media outlets.

**Anticipated Timeline and Budget**

**Timetable: 2-year project from 2007-2009**

**Phase I:**
1. Preparatory Phase  
2. 8 Research Papers  
3. Methodology Workshop  
4. Reviewing Process  

**Phase I Dates:**
- Preparatory Phase: June 2007-Oct 2007
- Methodology Workshop: March 2008

**Phase II:**
5. 8 Case Studies  
6. Reviewing Process  
7. Final Conference  
8. Publication and Dissemination  

**Phase II Dates:**
- 8 Case Studies: April 2008 – April 2009
- Final Conference: May 2009
- Publication and Dissemination: June 2009 - Dec 2009
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