# Governance in the financing of the post-2015 agenda

PPPPs and "blended institutions"

Notes for the intervention by
Roberto Bissio
Coordinator of the International Secretariat
of Social Watch

New York, December 11, 2014



# From blended finances to blended institutions

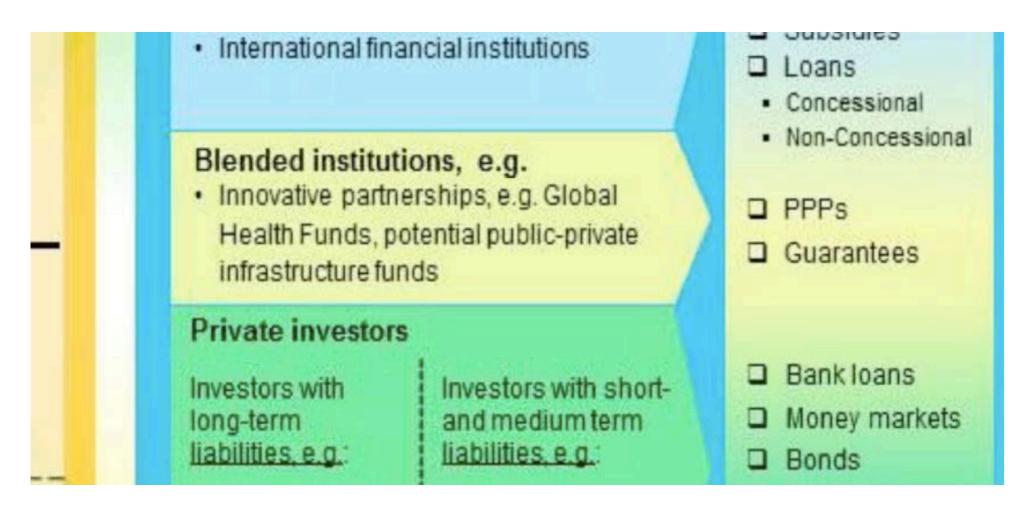
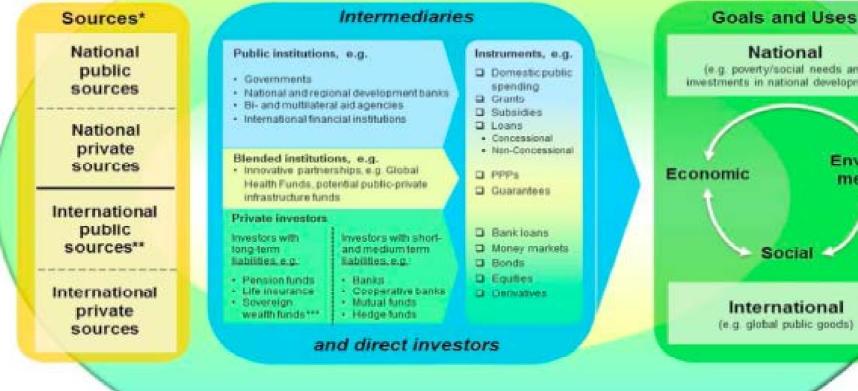


Figure 1 of "The Road to Dignity by 2030", Synthesis Report of the UN Secretary General, December 4, 2014



#### From blended finances to blended institutions

Domestic Enabling Environment and Policy Framework





#### International Enabling Environment

(including fair-trading system, macroeconomic stability, etc.)

Figure 1 of "The Road to Dignity by 2030", Synthesis Report of the UN Secretary General, December 4, 2014



## Mobilizing trillions...

Urgent action is needed to mobilize, redirect, and unlock the transformative power of trillions of dollars of private resources to deliver on sustainable development objectives. Long-term investments, including foreign direct investment (FDI), are needed in critical sectors, especially in developing countries. These include sustainable energy, infrastructure and transport, as well as information and communications technologies.

The sustainable development goals provide a platform for aligning private action and public policies. [...] This means principled and responsible public-private-people partnerships.

["The Road to Dignity by 2030", Synthesis Report of the Secretary-Generation the Post-2015 Agenda, paragraphs 92 and 81]

# projects have a calamitous history of cost overrun

Bent Flyvbjerg, Saïd Business School, Oxford University, Oxford, United Kingdom

"What You Should Know About Megaprojects and Why"

#### **Project Cost Overrun (%)** Suez Canal, Egypt 1,900 Scottish Parliament Building, Scotland 1,600 Sydney Opera House, Australia 1,400 Montreal Summer Olympics, Canada 1,300 Concorde Supersonic plane, UK-France 1,100 Excalibur Smart Projectile, USA, Sweden 650 Canadian Firearms Registry, Canada 590 Lake Placid Winter Olympics, USA 560 Medicare transaction system, USA 560 Bank of Norway headquarters, Norway 440 Furka Base Tunnel, Switzerland 300 280 Verrazano Narrow Bridge, USA 220 Boston's Big Dig Artery/Tunnel, USA Denver International Airport, USA 200 Panama Canal, Panama 200 Minneapolis Hiawatha light rail line, USA 190 **Dublin Port Tunnel, Ireland** 160 Montreal Metro Laval extension, Canada 160 Copenhagen Metro, Denmark 150 Boston-New York-Washington Railway, USA 130 Great Belt Rail Tunnel, Denmark 120 110 London Limehouse Road Tunnel, UK Brooklyn Bridge, USA 100 Shinkansen Joetsu high-speed railway, Japan 100 Channel Tunnel, UK, France 80 Karlsruhe–Bretten light rail, Germany 80 London Jubilee Line extension, UK 80

Bangkok Metro, Thailand

Mexico City Metroline, Mexico

High-speed Rail Line South, Netherlands

70

60

60

#### What can go wrong?





#### The impact of PPPs contracting on Portugal's fiscal position and what can be done about it

Presentation at the 4th Annual OECD Symposium on PPP Working Party of Senior Budget Officials (SBO)

Professor Ricardo Ferreira Reis



#### What can go wrong / continued

#### The PPP Experience in Portugal

- Intensive use of PPP to close the "infrastructure gap"
- Portugal lead PPP projects when measure by the size of the GDP
- "Off-budget temptation", and not Value for Money, was the main reason to choose PPP instead of traditional procurement
- Affordability issued due to the high level of future payments.





#### We saw it coming

- 1. PPPs, without proper control, provide an effective way for approval and launching of public investment projects without guaranteed sustainability. PPPs allow for the transfer of cost from the current generation to future generations, and specially from the current government to future governments, because typically there are no payments in the first three or four years after contract close.
- Since PPP projects are perceived by current public decisionmakers as zero-cost projects, the selection of projects looses rationality, allowing for the approval of projects presenting social benefits lower than total costs.

(PPP and Fiscal Risks: Experiences from Portugal, by Rui S. Monteiro, Parp'ublica, Portugal, March 7th, 2007)

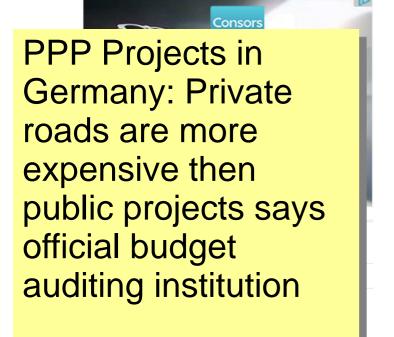
## Not just in Portugal...



#### ÖPP-Projekte in Deutschland: Privat gebaute Autobahnen sind teurer

Die Mehrkosten gehen in die Milliarden: Der privat finanzierte Autobahnbau ist laut Bundesrechnungshof deutlich teurer als öffentliche Projekte, berichtet das "Handelsblatt".

ANZEIGE





Berlin - Vielen gelten öffentlich-private Partnerschaften (ÖPP) als Wundermittel gegen Kostensteigerungen bei Bauvorhaben wie <a href="Autobahnen"><u>Autobahnen</u></a>, Straßentunnel oder <u>Schulen</u>. Offenbar behalten aber die Kritiker dieser Finanzierungsform Recht: Der privat finanzierte



#### The evidence...



Haushaltsausschuss Ausschussdrucksache

0822

18. Wahlperiode



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Ihr Zeichen, Ihre Nachricht vom

Unser Zeichen, unsere Nachricht vom V3-2013-5166

Durchwahl 1532 Bonn, den 04. Juni 2014

Bericht an den Haushaltsausschuss des Deutschen Bundestages nach § 88 Abs. 2 BHO über Öffentlich Private Partnerschaften (ÖPP) als Beschaffungsvariante im Bundesfernstraßenbau

Anlagen:

1 Exemplar des Berichtes

120 Abdrucke mit je 1 Exemplar des Berichtes

# The bottom line: PPPs made four roads €1,9 billion more expensive

BAB	Abschnitte	Kostenvergleich		
		Bundesverkehrs- ministerium	Bundesrechnungshof	
			%	Mehrkosten Mio. Euro
Verke	hrsmengenabhängige Vei			Milo. Euro
A 8	Augsburg West – München-Allach	10,0	-41,4	420
A 4	Landesgrenze HE/TH – Gotha	31,8	-12,4	213
A 1	AK Bremen – AD Buchholz	39,5	-27,9	633
A 8	Ulm-Elchingen – Augsburg West	-9,8	-46,0	600
Vergü	tung nach der Verfügbar	keit		
A 9	AS Lederhose – Landesgrenze HE/TH	1,6	-7,9	62
Summe				1 928

Tabelle 4: Vergleich der Ergebnisse der Wirtschaftlichkeitsuntersuchungen des BMVI und der Berechnungen des Bundesrechnungshofes



# DCD/WKP(2014)2/PROV Unclassified

## OECD opinion on PPPs

Unclassified

DCD/WKP(2014)2/PROV



Organisation de Coopération et de Développement Économiques Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

10-Mar-2014

English - Or. English

DEVELOPMENT CO-OPERATION DIRECTORATE

OFFICIAL SUPPORT FOR PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRY INFRASTRUCTURE

Advisory Group on Investment and Development

21 March 2014

#### "unlikely to succeed"

51. Donor countries that have domestic experience in private participation in infrastructure should take them into account—success and failures—when promoting private participation in developing country infrastructure. This applies to countries including Spain and Portugal where the extensive use of PPPs led to overinvestment in domestic infrastructure, contributing to the countries' financial crises. However, it is not clear whether most DAC members link their domestic experience in private participation in infrastructure with their views and approaches towards supporting private investment for developing country infrastructure.`[...] Private participation in infrastructure can be complex, time consuming and subject to frequent renegotiation and restructuring. If certain modalities are hugely unsuccessful in OECD countries, they are unlikely to succeed in less developed countries where cost recovery is more difficult.

#### Allianz: "We would love to finance roads"



In a moment when developed countries borrow long term paying 1% interest, PPPs offer private investors a long/term state-guaranteed return rate of 7%.



#### Issues for FfD

What kind of governance mechanisms should developing countries put in place to avoid mistakes as those?

With so much money looking for investment opportunities, what alternatives do developing countries have that do not accumulate excessive debt and future costs on their taxpayers and users of the infrastructure?

Having already identified the need for international tax cooperation to avoid a "race to the bottom", how can this lesson be applied to competitive investment attracting measures?



## **UN-forged partnerships**

A UN system that is "fit for purpose" to deliver on the post-2015 agenda is one that [...] forges effective partnerships to leverage external partners' expertise, capacities and resources.

["The Road to Dignity by 2030", Synthesis Report of the Secretary-General On the Post-2015 Agenda, paragraph 152]



## A constellation of "partnerships"

Every woman every child – CocaCola and many others

Sustainable Energy for All – Bank of America, Korean and Brazilian construction firms

Education First - MasterCard, Western Union

Nutrition, Sanitation, Oceans, Internet...







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#### UN chief unveils \$1.5 billion initiative to achieve universal education



Secondary education. UN Photo/Eskinder Debebe

26 September 2012 – Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon today announced that he has secured \$1.5 billion in commitments for a new initiative to increase access to, and the quality of, education for children worldwide.

"Every one of us stands on the shoulders of our teachers, our communities, our families

#### **Related Stories**



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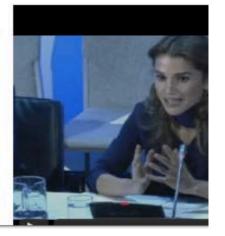
In Harlem, dep equality, non-d 'absolutely bas



UN refugee agever budget as by a quarter



UN agency rec 'lifeline' for Pal





Print

## Is someone counting?

"Education First," announced "commitments" worth USD1.5 billion in 2012. Of these, one billion would be provided by Western Union, a corporation specializing in channeling remittances from migrants, and 500 million by MasterCard.

However, the MasterCard Foundation has a total grant making capacity for all its programmes of USD 100 million a year and the Western Union Foundation website reports grants of only USD 71 million since 2001.

The small print of the "Education First" website says that MasterCard will provide scholarships for 15,000 African university students over ten years, while Western Union will "provide up to \$10,000 per day in non-governmental organization grant funding." At that pace, it will take 274 years to reach USD 1 billion!



#### Ex-ante criteria

- \* human rights record of the corporate actor
- \* corruption record of the corporate actor
- \* whether the corporate actor is fully transparent in its financial reporting and fully respecting existing tax responsibilities in all countries it operates
- \* potential conflicts of interest

[Extracted from a letter to UN SG by the "Righting Finance" coalition, November, 2014]

