



European University Institute

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

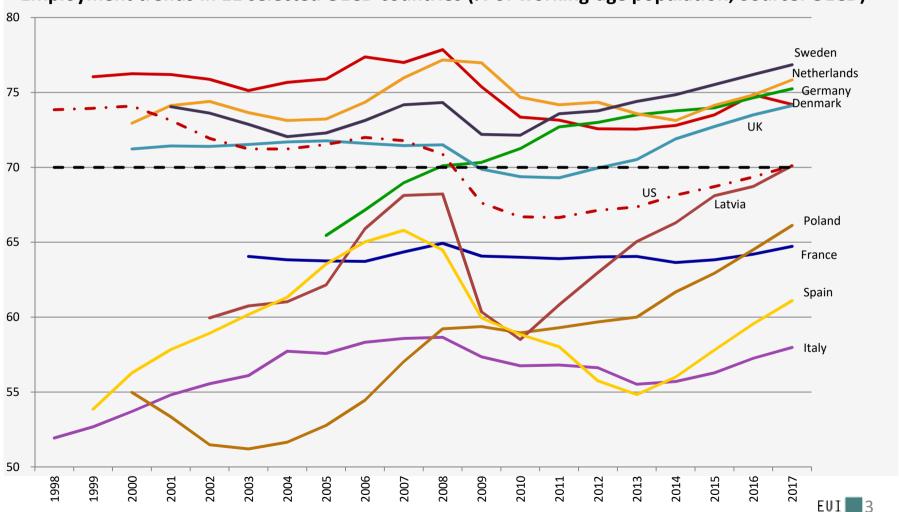
Outline

- 1. A puzzle
- 2. Taking social investment seriously theory
- 3. Taking social investment seriously evidence
- 4. Taking social investment seriously *politically*
 - 1. An EMU social investment pact
 - 2. From subnational innovation to national codification



Glass half full

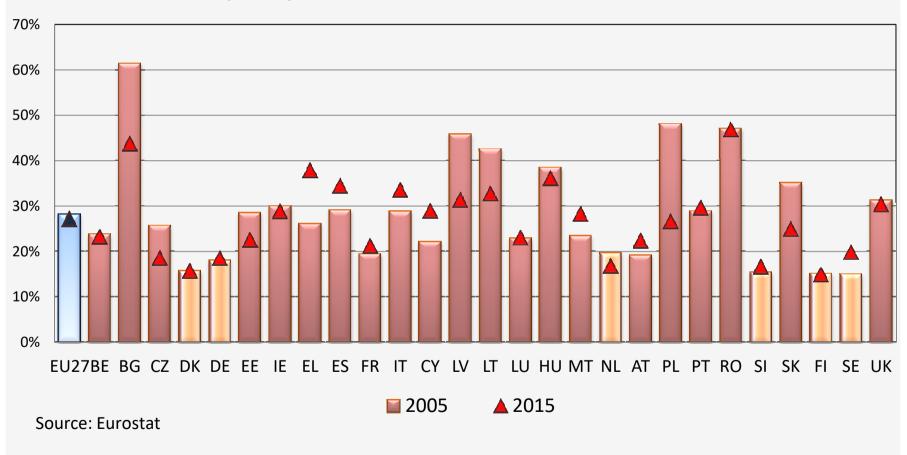
Employment trends in 11 selected OECD countries (% of working-age population; Source: OECD)





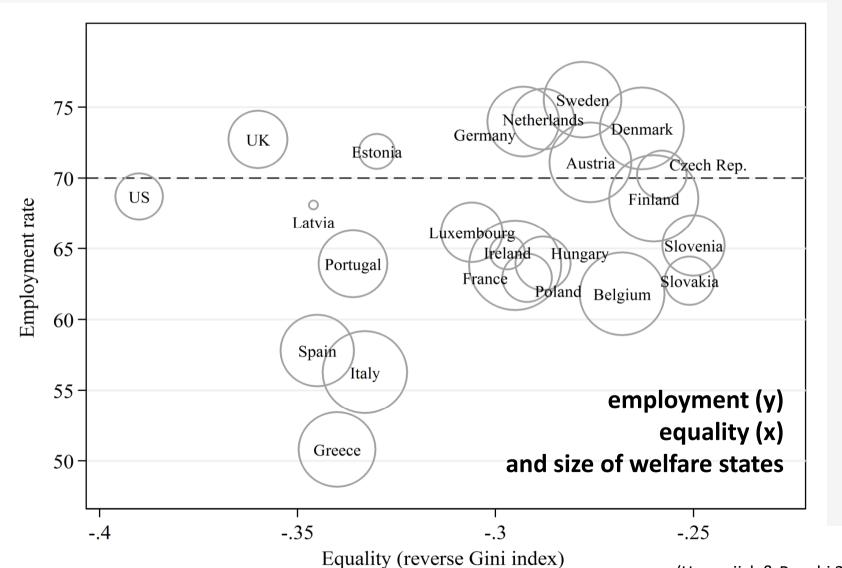
Glass half empty

Children at risk of poverty or social exclusion





Beyond Okun's Tradeoff





Social investment reform [WLB, ECEC, ALMP, LTC]

- All *Nordic* welfare states
- Continental SI: NL, DE with delay (FR and BE less so)
- Southern SI: ES before crisis (not IT)
- Liberal SI: lean UK, IE, CND [Quebec] (but not US)
- New EU members: SI, CZ, and PL (even today), lean Baltics (not HU)





The 'carrying capacity' of the welfare state

Number supported by welfare provision	Average consumption per welfare client
Number of workers (hours worked)	Average productivity per worker

Long-term strength of the economy and welfare provision increasingly contingent on social policy contribution to the (dynamic) productive 'denominator' side of the welfare equation, requiring a wider and more multidimensional ambit of policy interventions across the entire life course, beginning with children

(Esping-Andersen et al., 2002)



How: social investment stocks, flows and buffers

Three complementary functions:

- Raising the quality of human capital stock and capabilities over the life course from the young to the old
- Easing and improving the *flow* of contemporary labour market transitions in line with (*gendered*) life course dynamics to *retain* human capital
- Upkeeping minimum-income universal safety nets and social insurance as social (income) protection and macro-economic stabilization *buffers* over risky transitions to *protect* human capital

(Hemerijck 2015, 2017)



What's "new" welfare state?

- Keynesian-Beveridgean welfare compromise prioritized (male) employment-related buffers (male-breadwinner industrial economy)
- Neo-liberal critique of interventionist welfare state privileged undistorted labour market flow (flexibility) by retrenching buffers (because moral hazard) and employment protection (immediate allocative effect) in service economy
- Social investment welfare state aligns "lifelong" stock investments in tailor-made relation to gender-balanced "worklife" flows and "inclusive" buffers over longer (and potentially healthier) lives





The social investment 'life-course multiplier'

ECEC stimulates children cognitive and social development and parental employment

Extra-resources for poverty protection and prevention

High educational attainment reinforces success in further education

Active ageing, lifelong learning and LTC induce higher exit age

Better school and skills associated with higher employment and productivity

ALMP and WLB policies for higher (female) employment, lower gender gaps and higher fertility

(Hemerijck 2017)



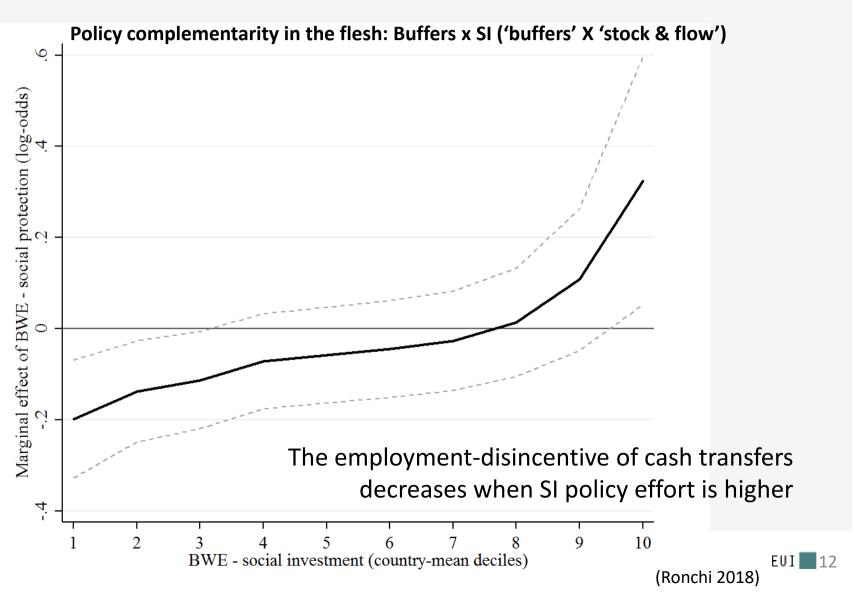
Policy complementarity

It is the *policy mix* that matters: different policies performing 'stock-flow-buffer' functions *interacting* to support citizens' life-course transitions

- Here and now: 'stock-flow-buffer' policies work in conjunction to enhance current opportunities
- Over-time cumulative returns: policy synergies addressing one phase of the life course enhance capabilities in the next phase (e.g. early investments in children -> future human capital gains in lower inequality)
- National social investment backing for local delivery (or local experimentation to leverage national commitment)



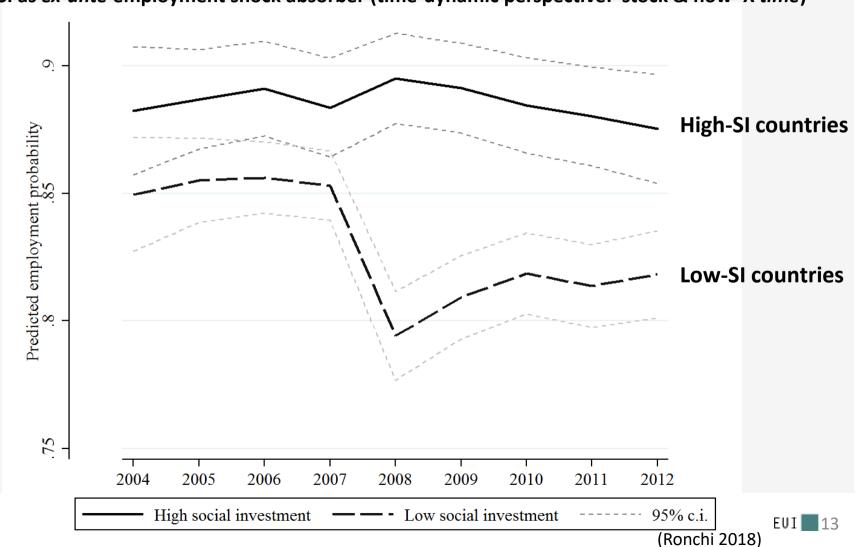
Social investment *moral Hazard* mitigation





Social investment shock absorption

SI as ex-ante employment shock absorber (time-dynamic perspective: 'stock & flow' X time)





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Three EU-regions

	Catalonia	Rhône-Alpes	West Sweden
Vertical coordination and Horizontal policy complementarity between the stock-flow-buffer (SFB) functions in three regions	Weak policy vertical policy complementarity between central and autonomous governments due to the institutional fragmentation and inefficiency of the administrative capability No horizontal coordination between training agencies, employment services, social services and income guarantee schemes Banking crisis undermining regional social investment effort	Coordination but the highly complex relations between of social protection and employment assistance making the system sectoralized and fragmented Rigid administrative structures limiting the 3 functions to work together Paris stands in the way for Lyon	High vertical and horizontal coordination between SFB functions Emphasis is placed on cooperation between public authorities and stakeholders at different levels of government, in order to foster greater alingment between policy measures and functions (childcare, education, training, ALMPs, income supports) to support citizens' life-course transitions



Is the EU still the trade union of the next generation (Monti)? *No!*

- EU is a union of national welfare states!
- 'Buffers' jealously defended in national politics
- Underinvestment in 'stocks' next generation (and brain-drain)
- Little cross-country interest mutual learning about effective 'flow' policies
- Making the ageing burden difficult to bear



Heterodox proposal to exempt stock investment from the SGP

- To incentivize national reform ownership
- Linked to learning from best 'flow' practices and more 'inclusive' buffers
- Leveraging higher female and older worker employment over time (for at least a decade) through carrots (rather than sticks) to bolster carrying capacity welfare state



The new politics of social investment

- Welfare states here to stay! 'Successes' and 'failures' are staring us in the face – critical implications for capitalism and democracy to survive
- Upward recalibration less difficult than assumed to stay clear of present danger of downward welfare drift and Matthew effects. Big spending welfare state as "productive constraints"
- But requires serious re-imagination of the welfare state from an 'equal social worth' dynamic life-course wellbeing perspective – «flourishing lives»
- Especially in Italy, but don't wait for Rome