# EAPN Conference Getting Out of the Crisis Together: Alternative Approaches for an Inclusive Recovery

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Minimum Income, Social Investment, Maximum Income: Europe 2020 and Beyond

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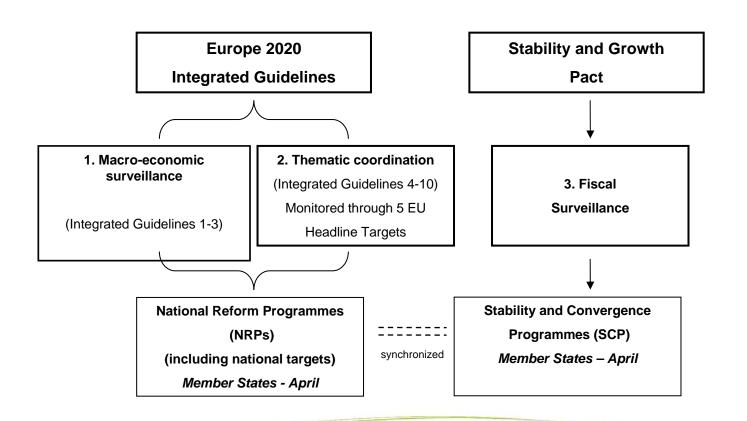
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# A *short* presentation... about a *vast* topic

Which should start with a little "putting into perspective"





# The EU's current governance framework



#### The social dimension is far from key (put mildly) in the EU's current socio-economic strategy!

- Pursuing the wrong paradigm (growth, growth, growth)
- Criticism: repeat some of Lisbon's flaws
- Social Protection and Social Inclusion reduced to *fighting* poverty (and activation)
- Social Dimension subsumed into economic objectives
  - Innovation and social progress tied to fulfillment of debt criteria (tunnel vision, even IMF/Lagarde agrees!)
  - Close link NRPs and Stability and Convergence Programmes!



### And yet

• The same socio-economic strategy provides both *legitimacy and tools* to push the agenda on a European minimum income!







## 1. Legitimacy

• Devestating social effects of the economic crisis (policy responses from Member States): poverty, unemployment, housing...

• Those Member States with strong social systems have done better (SPC, 2011)!



#### 2. Tools

- Compared with Lisbon (*Titanic* 2010): some progress for Social Europe
  - Increased pressure on targets and monitoring of progress (peer pressure): *poverty target* and requirement to set *national targets* (respected?)
  - Country-specific Recommendations
     (Guideline 10?) See Cyprus: AROP elderly
  - Social protection and Social Inclusion are back in (compared to 2005)



#### Integrated Guidelines

Macro- economic	Guideline 1	Ensuring the quality and sustainability of public finances
surveillance	Guideline 2	Addressing macroeconomic imbalances
	Guideline 3	Reducing imbalances in the eurozone
	Guideline 4	Optimising support for R&D and innovation, strengthening the knowledge triangle and unleashing the potential of the digital economy
	Guideline 5	Improving resource efficiency and reducing greenhouse gas emissions
Thematic	Guideline 6	Improving the business and consumer environment, and modernising and developing the industrial base in order to ensure the full functioning of the internal market
coordination	Guideline 7	Increasing labour market participation of women and men, reducing structural unemployment and promoting job quality
	Guideline 8	Developing a skilled workforce responding to labour market needs and promoting lifelong learning
	Guideline 9	Improving the quality and performance of education and training systems at all levels and increasing participation in tertiary or equivalent education
	Guideline 10	Promoting social inclusion and combating poverty

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## Existing tools of Social OMC

- Set of indicators
- ! Peer Reviews (eg PR Belgium about)
- (Joint) Reports, studies
- Networks (eg Independent experts on Social Inclusion)

→ If these tools could be activated <u>simultaneously</u> around the issue of minimum income, they can create considerable leverage!



### Where do we go from here?

# Safeguarding Europe's Social Dimension

- 2 possible (complementary)
- scenarios:
  - minimum scenario: upgrade existing instruments
  - paradigm shift: minimum income as part of
     'Social Investment Pact'



#### Minimum Scenario:

- Ensuring a role for the social policymakers (EPSCO, EMCO, SPC): Country Rec?
- Continue a broad OMC (all 3 strands)
- Beefing up its instruments
   (sub targets, monitoring, using horizontal clause, Peer Reviews)
- Greater involvement of stakeholders (SP, NGOs, etc.) → procedural rules.<sup>2</sup>
- Financial support (e.g. ESF):
   'social' conditionality

#### Paradigm Shift:

Social Investment Pact (Hemerijck, Palier, Vandenbroucke)

- Combine short-term fiscal consolidation <u>and</u> long-term social investment in the context of Europe 2020.
- Objectives: modernise welfare system, invest in people to prepare (capacitate) them for social change and global competition.
- Framework Directive on Minimum Income is one some component



- Social Investment Pact
- -Oriented to the achievement of greater equality.
  - -Priorities of social investment:
  - Improvement of human capital as a means for a more competitive Europe
    - Child care and education as a priority
      - Later and more flexible retirement
      - Capacitating orientation of services



### V. Conclusion and Outlook

- Proof of the pudding is in the eating (still early days)
- New opportunities when compared to the Lisbon Strategy:
  - rather all-encompassing; increased visibility (IG 10, headline target, EPAP)
- But also serious risks:
  - Dominance of economic considerations (growth objectives and synchronisation); reduction to social inclusion; Social OMC?

# Wealth, Inequality and social polarization in the EU (EAPN, 2011)

- The wealthiest tenth of the world's adults now control 83% of wealth; 1% control 43%.
- "Plutocracy: a government or state in which the wealthy rule"
- Wealth (and income inequality) are underlying causes of the current economic crises. IMF: "Wealth inequality is the most serious challenge in the world".

- A more equal spread of wealth would mean more money recycled back into the real economy be consumers, underpinning businesses by providing stable demand
- Warren Buffet, writing in the New York Times, August 15 20: we megarich continue to get our extraordinary tax breaks
- Obama's plan to raise the income-tax rate for joint filers earning more than \$250,000 a year (or more than \$200,000 for individuals



- Still room for building the Social dimension of Europe 2020 (but difficult!)
  - it's a new-born...

• *Strong alliances* needed: up to the social actors to create leverage, and to make the best of this oxymoron (STOP-GO)



# Making the best of the Oxymoron (or fight it?)

- Use it as a step-up to EU legislation (but political context?)
  - Minimum income would be a first candidate (EAPN, EC tender EC, B Presidency)
  - What about upcoming Cyprus Presidency (procedural rules for stakeholder involvement)?
- Contribute to critical discourse (picked up: politicians, MEP's, opposition, academics)
  - EAPN report on social dimension of NRP
  - Eurochild report on how 'child poverty' is being addressed
  - → Where is Cyprus (22 national contributions)?!



## OSE website: www.ose.be

