#### WELFARE STATE AND INSTITUTIONAL **COMPLEMENTARITY:** From North to South Robert BOYER Institute of the Americas

Workshop « New directions in social policy », Session "New risks and Challenges in social policy", Geneva, April 7 and 8, 2014

#### INTRODUCTION

I – A theoretical background

II – More than a century long history: what lessons?

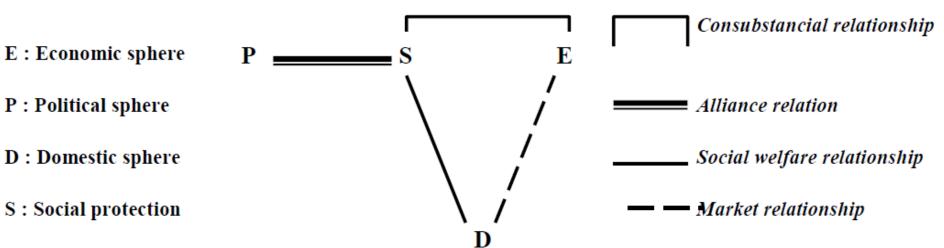
III - Emerging Welfare states: what can we say?

Conclusion

#### I - A THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

#### I.1 – The intrinsic complexity of welfare states

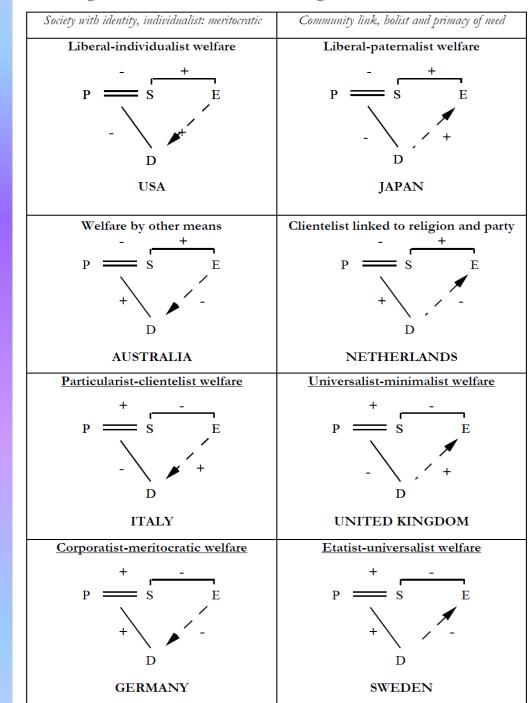
Figure 1 - A conceptualization of welfare



Source: Théret B. (1997: 214).

#### I.2 – A multiplicity of configurations

Figure 2 – There is no canonical configuration for welfare State



## I.3 - How do complex systems cohere? The complementarity hypothesis.

#### **Insert 1: Four mechanisms**

- 1. Complementarity:
  - Two elements E and E' are said to be complementary if the performance R of the conjunction of E and E' is superior to any other mix of elements i.e.  $R(E,E') > R(E,A) \ \forall \ A \neq E'$  and  $R(E,E') > R(B,E') \ \forall \ B \neq E$ .
- Compatibility: this second notion is frequently confused with the first one...but it should not!
   Actually E and E' are compatible if they can be jointly observed in existing economies and societies, i.e. E ∩ E' ≠ Ø.
- 3. Hierarchy: This is a third relation between entities, with the implication of causality from E to E'. Basically, if E, then among a set (E', E",E",...) there is one E' such that E ∩ E' ≠ Ø and E ∩ E" = 0, E ∩ E" = 0,...
- 4. Coevolution: The observation of the joint occurrence of two institutions or organizations might be the unintended outcome of mechanisms of selection and learning.

#### A useful concept in many field of social sciences

Table 1 – The Complementarity Hypothesis (CH): a brief survey of some main results

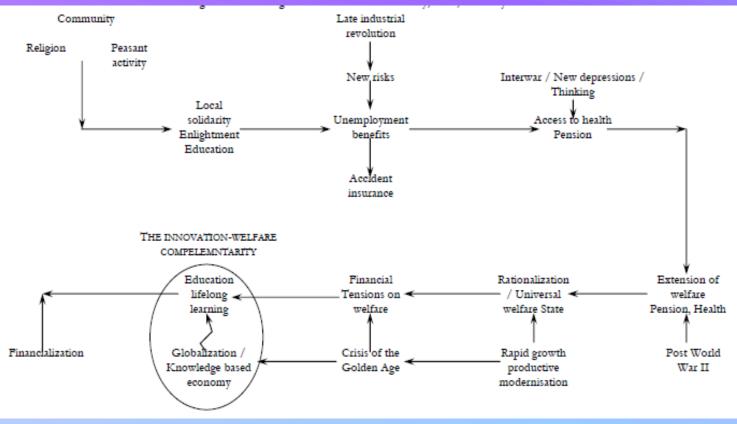
	Productive Systems	Innovation Systems	Modes of governance	Brands of Capitalism	Welfare systems
Authors	Milgrom and Roberts (1990)	Lundvall (1992) Amable & al. (1997)	Williamson (2002)	Hall and Soskice (2001) Amable (2003)	Theret (1997)
Examples	1. Just in time and total quality (Japan)	1. Mixing mechanics and electronics (Japan)	1.Industrial conglomerate and Main Bank (Japan before 1990)	Complementarity     of institutional     forms at the     macro level: Japan     (Amable)	1. An industrial welfare in large firms, flexible employment in the services (Japan)
	2. Polyvalent and skilled workers and high quality goods (Germany)	2. Industry technical centers and diffusion of incremental innovations (Germany)	Codetermination     and industrial     collective     bargaining     (Germany before     1989)	Macroeconomic consequences of productive complementarity at the firm level: Germany (Hall and Soskice)	2. Subsidies for shorter working time for core workers (Germany after 2008)
	3. University research and start ups (Silicon Valley)	3. Venture capitalist and radical innovations (The US)	3. Shareholder value and labor flexibility (The US since 1990)	3. Different productive complementarities generate different capitalism: the US (Hall, Soskice)	3. Limited unemployment benefits but full employment economic policy (The US until 2000)

## II – MORE THAN A CENTURY LONG HISTORY: WHAT LESSONS?

#### II.1 – A progressive building of welfare States: the Nordic example

Figure 3 – The long run coevolution of solidarity, ideas, economy and welfare

Source: Susanna Fellman, Reino and Ritta Hjerppe (2009)



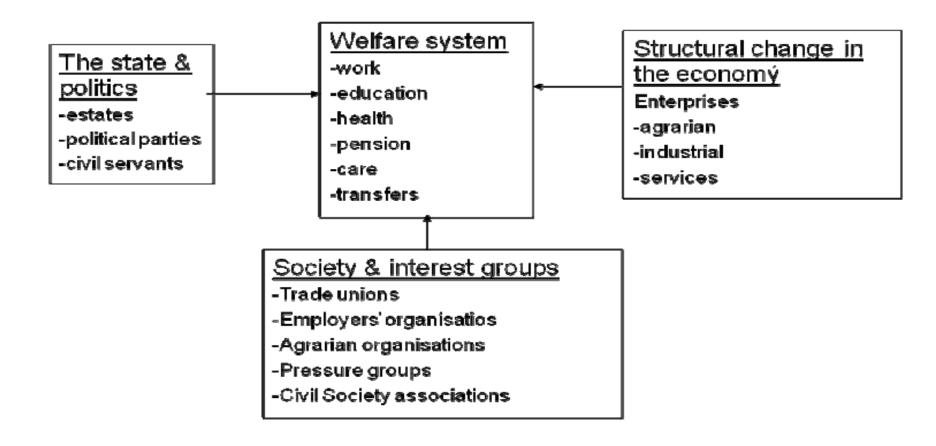
## II.2 – Timings and configurations are specific to each society

Innovation	First	Second	Third	Finland	Sweden	Norway	Denmark
	country	country	country				
Work casualty insurance	Germany (1871)	Switzerland (1881)		1895	1901/16	1915	1899
Sickness insurance	Germany (1883)	Italy (1886)	Austria (1888)	1963	1962	1956	(1893/)1933
Old age and work disability insurance	Germany (1889)	Denmark (1891)	France (1895)	1937	1913	1936	1891*
Unemployment insurance	France (1905)	Norway (1906)	Denmark (1907)	1917	1893	1906*	1907*
Child benefits (allowances)	Austria (1921)	New Zealand (1926)	Belgium (1930)	1948	1947	1946	1957
General suffrage	New Zealand (1893)	Australia (1902)	Finland (1907)	1907	1921	1913	1915
General education	Germany (Prussia) (1763)	Austria (1774)	Denmark (1814)	1921	1842	1889	1814*

Source: Hjerppe – Hjerppe 2007; Sweden: <a href="www.rixlex.se">www.rixlex.se</a>; Norway: <a href="www.lovdata.no">www.lovdata.no</a>; Denmark:

www.retsinformation.dk.

#### Figure 4: Factors influencing welfare state development



Source: Susanna Fellman, Reino Hjerppe and RittaHjerppe (2009)

## II.3 – Taxes, social contributions and types of welfare: a first complementarity.

Table 3 – The role of taxation and social transfers upon Gini index: the gap between European

Union and Latin America - 2006

Unión Europea (15 países)	0.46	0.31
América Latina (promedio)	0.52	0.50
Reino Unido	0.53	0.35
Irlanda	0.53	0.34
Dinamarca	0.49	0.29
España	0.47	0.35
Austria	0.38	0.27
Estados Unidos	0.47	0.34
Brasil	0.56	0.54
México	0.51	0.49
Chile	0.47	0.46

Source: Carlos Telo (2012).

## II.4 – Labor institutions and welfare: a second complementarity

Table 4 – The distinctiveness of Scandinavian countries: a labour process organized upon discretionary learning

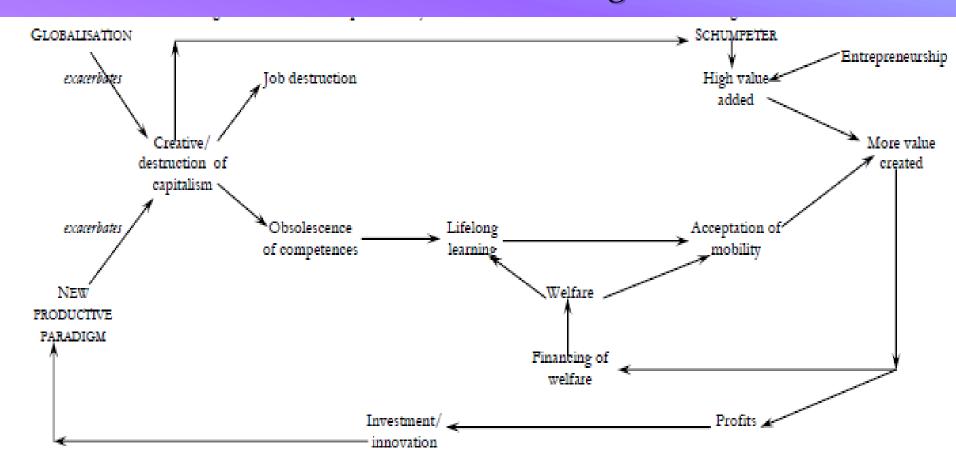
Table 1: N	ational Differen	ces in Organisa	ational Models	(percent of
		s by organisatio		(January)
				1
	Discretionary	Lean	Taylorist	Simple
	learning	production	organisation	organisation
		learning		
		North		
Netherlands	64,0	17,2	5,3	13,5
Denmark	60,0	21,9	6,8	11,3
Sweden	52,6	18,5	7,1	21,7
Finland	47,8	27,6	12,5	12,1
Austria	47,5	21,5	13,1	18,0
		Center		
Germany	44,3	19,6	14,3	21,9
Luxemb.	42,8	25,4	11,9	20,0
Belgium	38,9	25,1	13,9	22,1
France	38,0	33,3	11,1	17,7
		West		
UK	34,8	40,6	10,9	13,7
Ireland	24,0	37,8	20,7	17,6
		South		
Italy	30,0	23,6	20,9	25,4
Portugal	26,1	28,1	23,0	22,8
Spain	20,1	38,8	18,5	22,5
Greece	18,7	25,6	28,0	27,7
EU-15	39,1	28,2	13,6	19,1

Source: Third Working Condition survey. European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working.

Source: Bengt Ake Lundvall (2011)

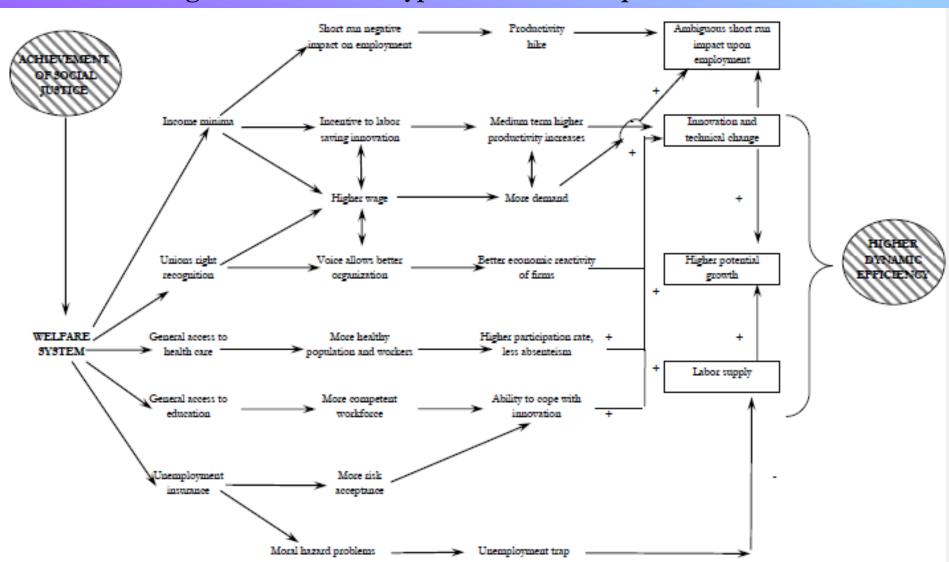
#### II.5 – The production and innovation system has to sustain welfare

Figure 6 – The core complementarity between welfare and innovation: the Nordic configuration



#### II.6 – The theoretical foundations of a universal welfare led regime.

Figure 7 – The ideal type for a welfare capitalism



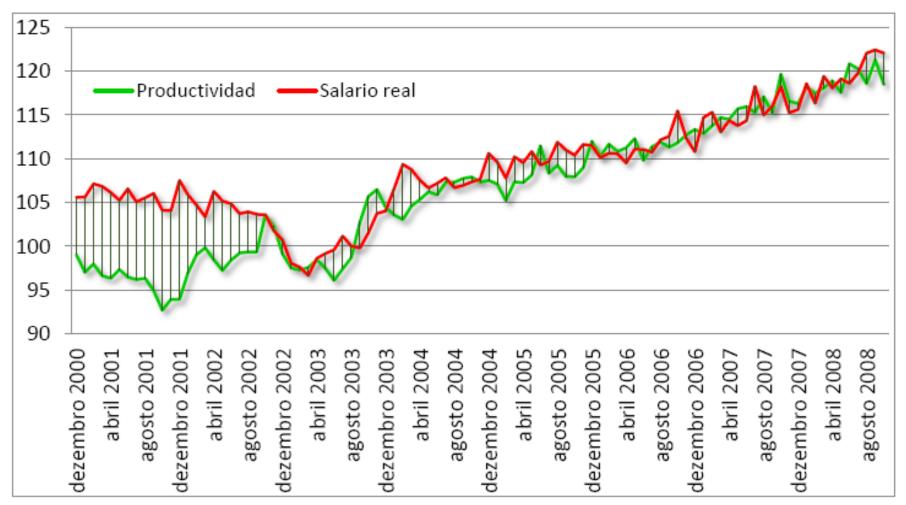
## III – EMERGING WELFARE STATES: WHAT CAN WE SAY?

III.1 – Conditional cash transfers as organizing a complementarity between redistribution, education and health

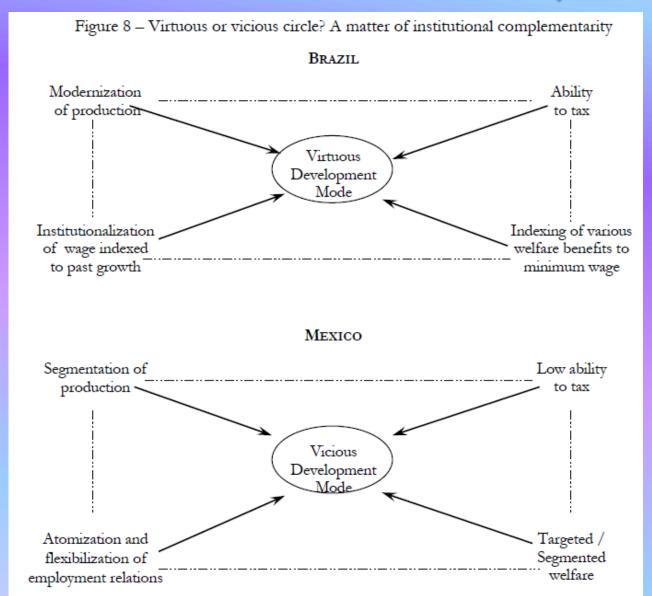
III.2 – Indexing wage and social benefits to productivity in Brazil: creating a virtuous circle

Graph1: The source of a domestic market led growth

Since 2003 a new synchronization of real wage and productivity

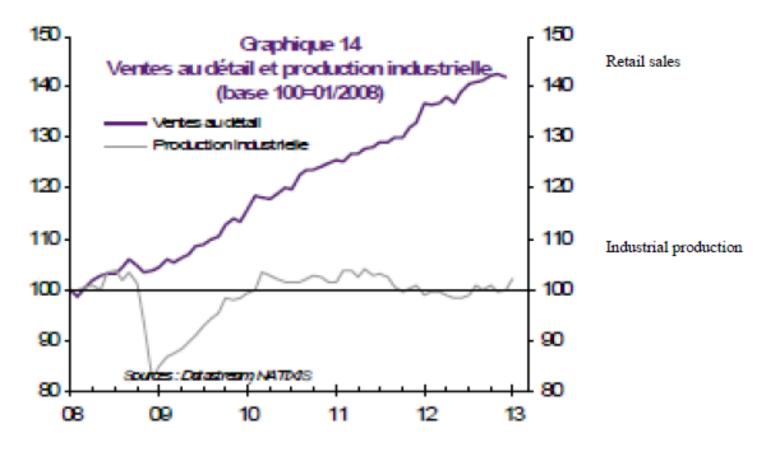


#### III.3 – Reducing poverty and fostering domestic demand: another joint impact



#### III.4 – Brazil: an emerging discrepancy between production and welfare

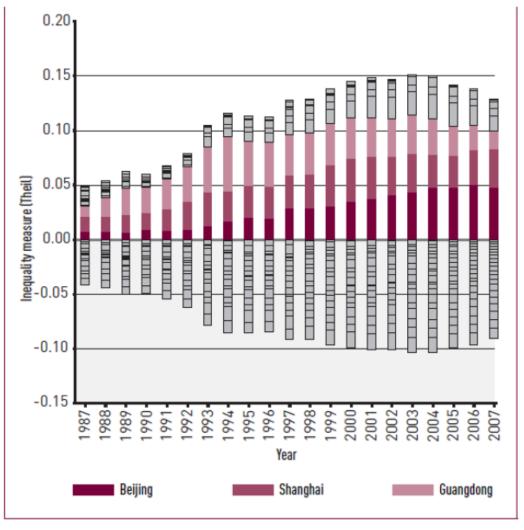
Graph 2 - Domestic demand dynamism but industrial production stagnation: Brazil since 2008



Source: Artus Patrick (2013), p.5

# III.5 – China: fast structural transformation, urgent need for a modicum welfare

Graph 3 - Inequality and regional polarization, China (1987-2007)



Note: The bar segments represent elements of the Theil index, specifically the population weight times the ratio of average sector pay to country pay (times the log of the same ratio). Thus above-average pay sectors show positive values, those with below-average pay show negative values. The Theil measure for each year is the sum of the bar values for that year. Source: Galbraith et al. 2008.

Source: taken from UNRISD (2010), p. 72

## III.6 – China: from the failure of privatization of welfare to a new strategy

Graph 4: The return of state in health care financing after 2000 in China 100% 90% 80% 36 38 39 51 70% Private Health Insurance and Extra-52 54 budgetary Expenditure 60% Government Health Expenditure 50% Out-of-Pocket Payment 40% External sources 30% 20% 10% Year 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10

Source: World Health Organization National Health Account database (for the most recent updates, see

http://apps.who.int/nha/database).

#### CONCLUSION.

C1 – Any welfare state organizes the articulation between society, economy and polity as embedded into a set of institutions and organizations.

C2 – The viability of any welfare state is up to its complementarity between a production and innovation system.

C3 - Political history matters since social pacts may or may not be easy to negotiate given the heterogeneity of conflicting interests.

C4 – In spite of the Euro zone crisis, a welfare- led competitiveness is still possible, however difficult the negotiation of the required social pacts might be.

C5 - Social security is clearly on top of the agenda of many Asian countries and not only China.

C6 – Brazil has explored more fully than other Latin American countries the complementarity between a redistribution of income towards the poorer fraction of the population and the reliance upon domestic market growth.

C7 –History never repeats itself. Actually, the South cannot follow the same precise strategies that benefited so much to the North.

## Thank you for your attention

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