# After Lisbon? Social Europe at the crossroads Salvo Leonardi

IRES – Rome

Istanbul, November 2009



# Highlights

"'To say that targets set up have not been fulfilled, does this make the strategy a failure?"

- There is significant value in the Lisbon agenda, "partly succesfull"
- But it was not sufficiently and coherently supported by an effective process
- The Lisbon strategy failed in terms of delivery: volume and quality of jobs; income inequalities
- The evaluation is taking place in the worst economic downturn since the 1930s

## What was the Lisbon Strategy?

"Lisbon was a strategy for economic **structural change/modernisation** aiming at creating many new sectors of the economy"

The most competitive and dynamic
 knwoledge-based economy
 capable of sustainable economic growth,
 with more and better jobs
 and social cohesion" by 2010.

## The magic word: "Flexicurity"

The Green Paper of 2006: *Modernising labour law to meet the challenges of the 21st century* 

Main theme of EES. The June 2007 Commission Communication

Is the second second

security – employment security and income security – on the other.

flexibility and security should not be seen as opposites, but can be made mutually supportive (Wilthagen). 2006-2007: Integrated Guidelines for Growth and Jobs

- Flexible <u>contractual arrangements</u>
- Effective <u>active labour market policies</u>
- Reliable and responsive <u>lifelong learning systems</u>
- Modern social security systems, providing income support and facilitating mobility
- Supportive and productive social dialogue

### "A flexible and inclusive Labour Market" A shift from job security to employability

# Legislative developments and role of the national social dialogue

Important reforms (on pensions, labour market, industrial relations systems), accomplished in most of the member states, were based on bipartite social dialogue and/or tripartite social pacts;

Social partners are often involved in the comanagement of the national welfare schemes (i.e. joining labour market boards, unemployment insurance funds, training councils, complementary pension schemes, local welfare);

Collective bargaining and bipartite agreements remain a key tool to introduce and manage flexibility at the workplace level.

# **Social pacts in Italy**

Since the early 90s, there is a long and intense season of social pacts. The basic norm of the i.r. system is not a law but still the tripartite social pact of July 1993

In July 2007, the Italian government signed a social pact with the trade unions concerning pension reform, social security, flexible employment contracts, competitiveness, young workers and women.

In January 2009 a new social pact was signed by the new government and all the social partners, except the largest union: the CGIL.

#### The reasons:

- the new method to calculate the wage dynamic;
- the introduction of "exit clauses" from the national sector collective agreements;
- the limitation of the right to strikes to the main organisations only.

## The Lisbon method: a soft coordination

- no transfer of sovereignty
- no strict rules underpinned by sanctions
- Solution but an endeavour to move towards the same goal
- supported by a soft coordination process (benchmarking; peer reviews; mutual learning)
- standstill of social directives

# The European legislative developments

Council Directive 2008/104 on temporary agency work



The amendement of the Working Time Directive (2003/88)



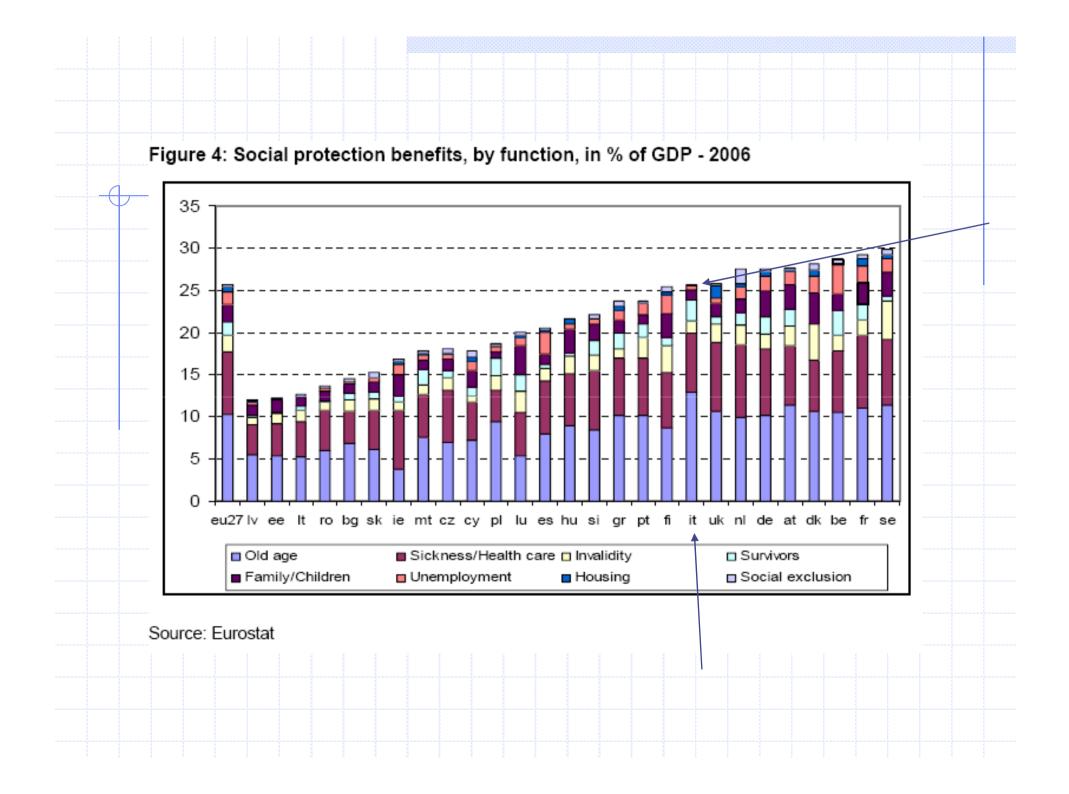
Recasting the European Working Council Directive

## Why the OMC?

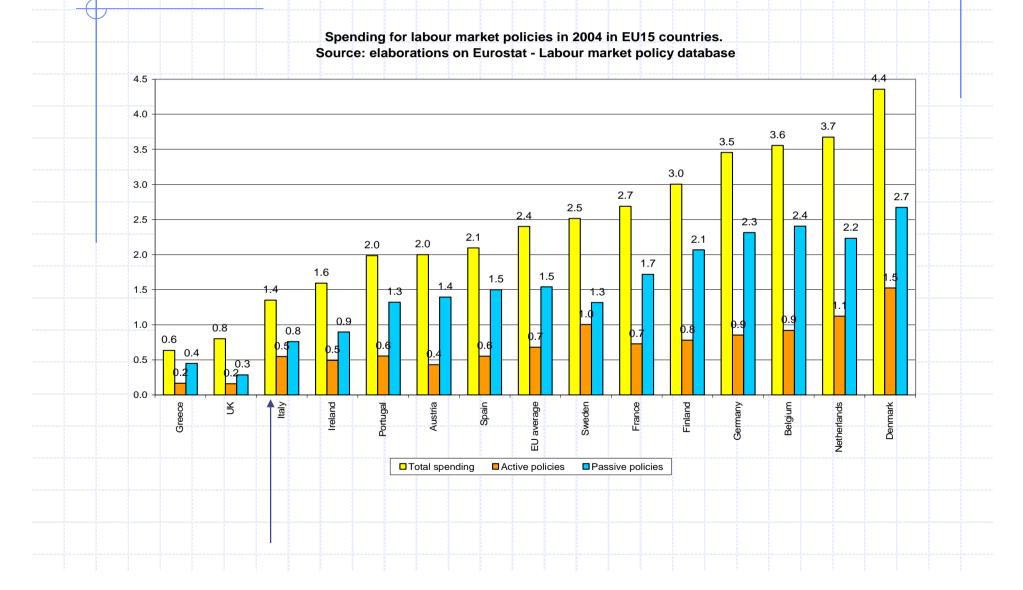
- Two key motivations for coordination
  - Interdependence
  - Policy learning
- Two reasons for doing it at EU level
  - Stronger interdependence (especially within euro area)
  - Common EU goals (political dimension)
- Two main difficulties
  - Structural heterogeneity
  - Policy heterogeneity

## **European social models**

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Continental	Eastern	Nordic	Mediterranean	Anglo-Saxon
AT	CZ	DK	EL	IE
BE	HU	FI	PT	UK
FR	, IT	NL	ES	
DE	PO	SE		
/	SK			
ources: DØ EN	IPL calculations fro	om Eurostat and	l OECD data.	
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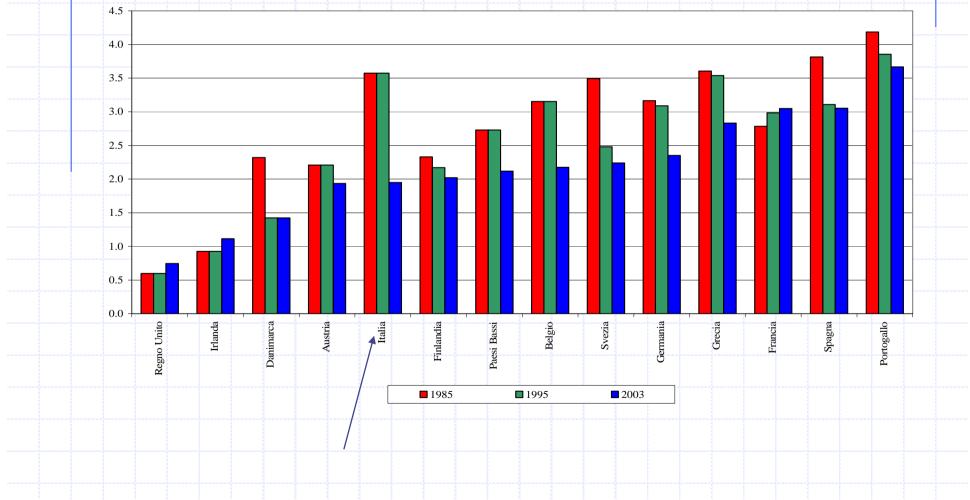


# The spending for labour policies (active and passive)

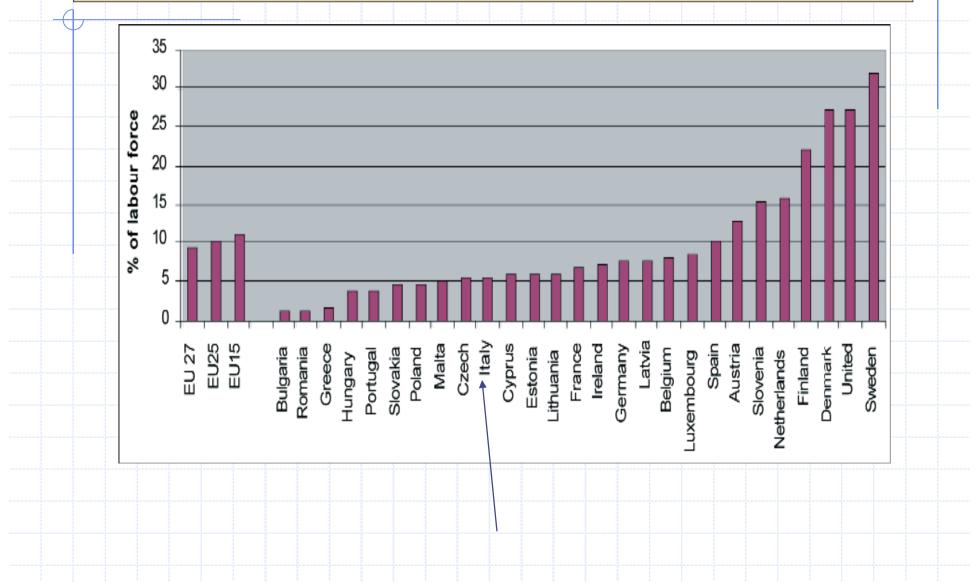


## The employment protection legislation (EPL) index

Fig. 4.3.1: Andamento dell'indice di *employment protection legislation* (EPL) nei paesi di UE15 fra il 1985 e il 2003. Fonte: elaborazioni su dati OCSE



#### Participation of the labour force in lifelong learning (2007)



## *Is Lisbon so far a disappointment?* Key trends <u>before</u> the crisis



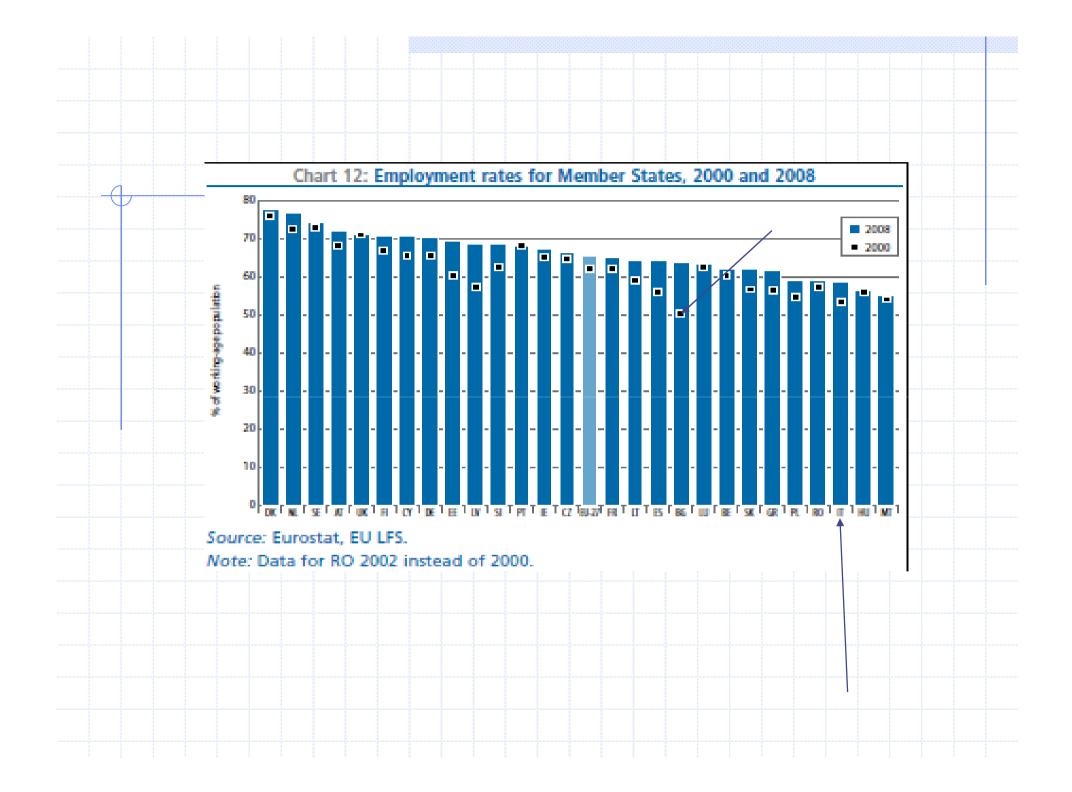
- Employment rate: from 62% to 65,9% in 8 years
- Driven by female employment
- 9,7 million new jobs created between 2005 and 2008

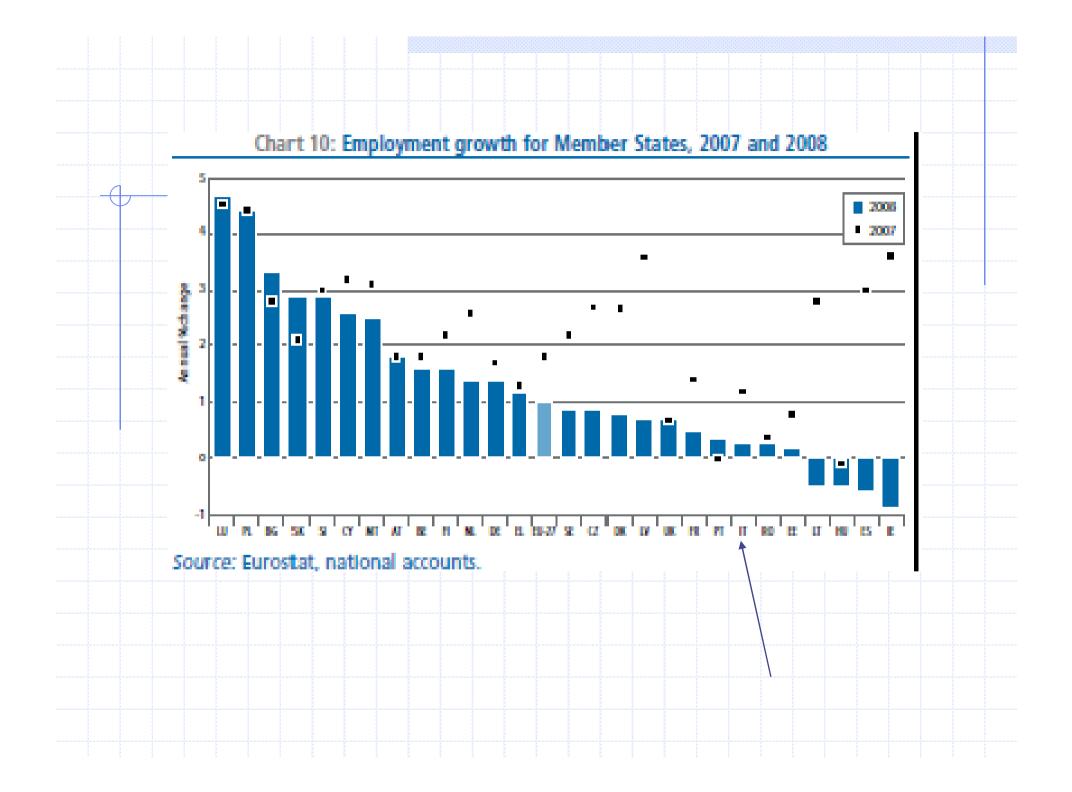
 Between 2002-2007 nearly 1/3 of unemployed people (10%) found a job within a year

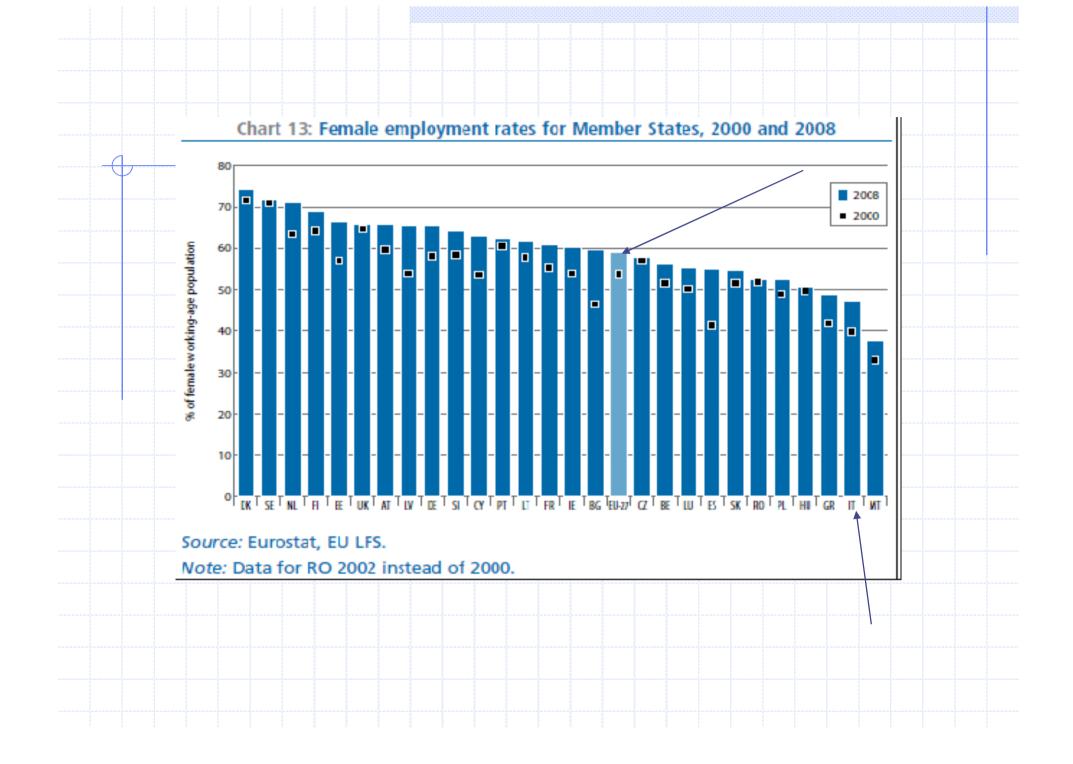
## The European Employment Strategy and its outcomes: 1997-2008

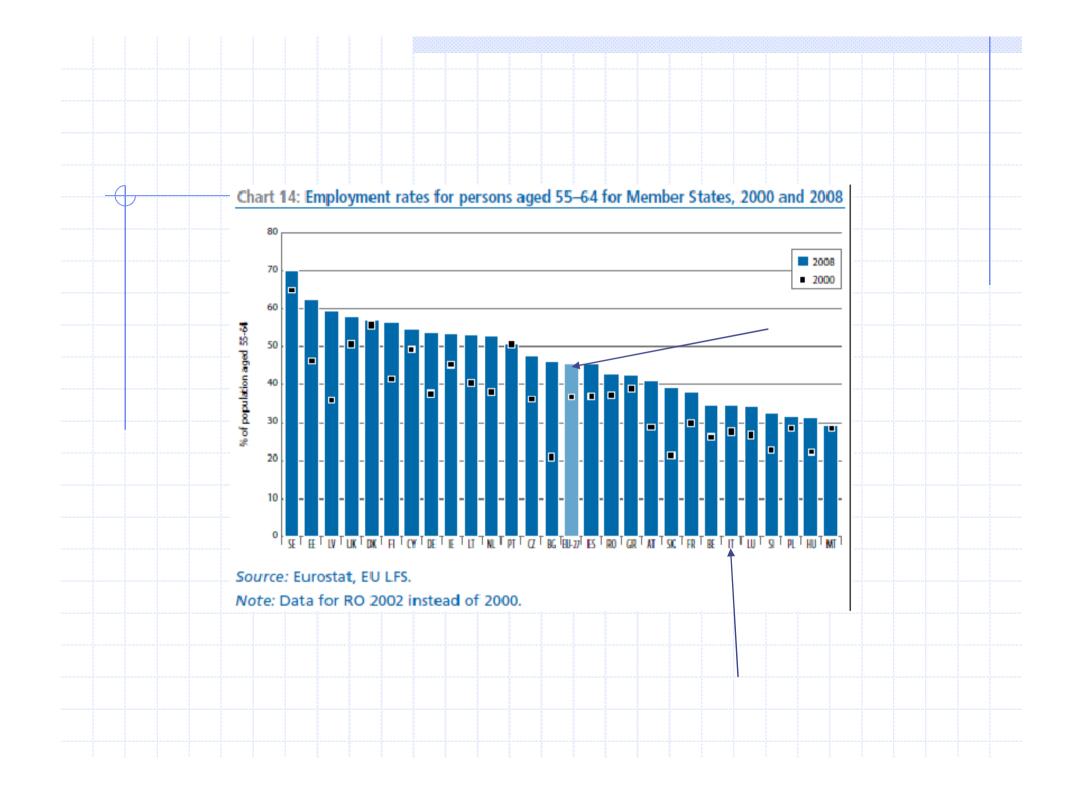
- Employment rate
  - from 57% to 65.9% (EU-27; 67,3% EU-15)
- Female employment rate
  - from 51% to **59,1%** (EU-27)
- Unemployment rate
  - from 11,4% to 7.0% (EU-27)
- Unemployed: 16,7 million

The rate of employment has risen by **3,7%** since 2000 (4 points yet to be filled; less than 1 point for women; 4 for aged persons)









### **Contractual arrangements and flexibility**

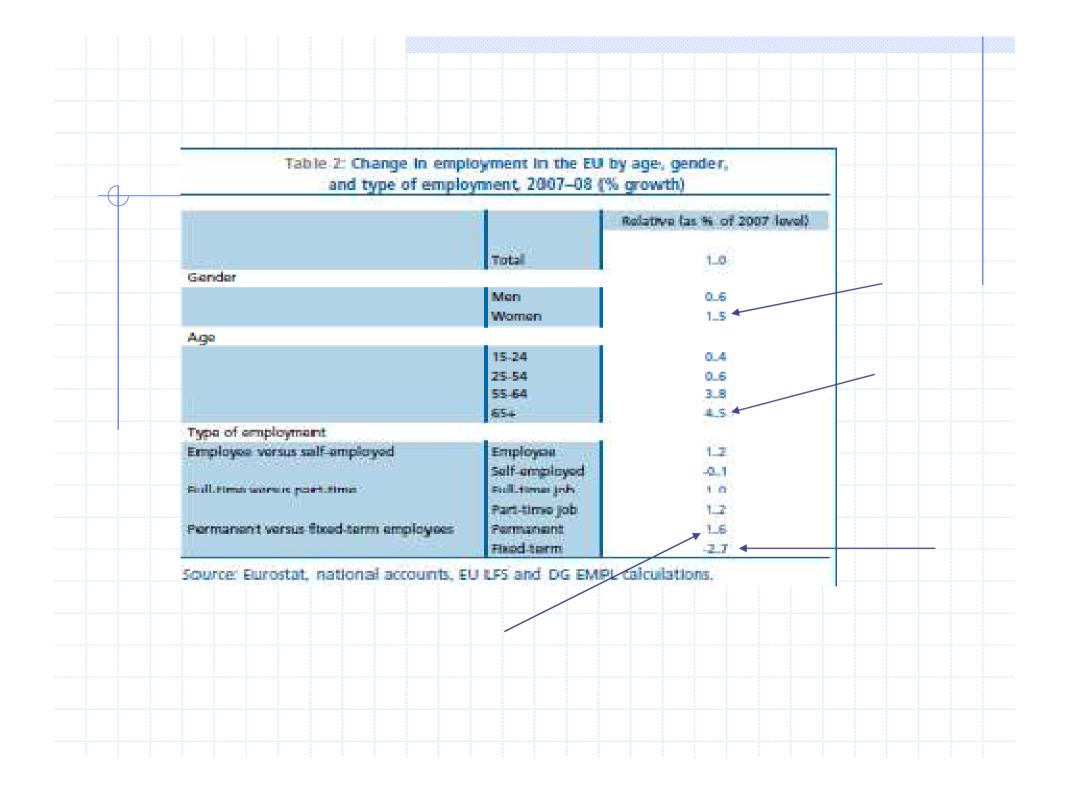
The number of workers on fixed-term contracts has increased constantly since 1997, but declining in the last year.

- Today 27% of the EU workforce has a fixed-term, 37% part-time and 10% are self-employed.
- Part-time:
  - 18% EU-27; from 2% of Bulgaria to 47% of the Netherlands
  - **Fixed-term**:
    - 14% EU-27; from 5% of Greece or the Baltic States to 29% of Spain

#### Self-employed:

16% EU-27; from 4,8% of Sweden to 24,5% in Italy, > 40% in Greece or Romania.

Image and gender         Total         41.0         59.0           15-24         1.3         0.9         0.3           25-54         58.2         19.1         39.1           55-64         37.9         18.9         19.0           65+         2.6         2.0         0.6           ype of employment and gender         Employee         89.8         34.8         55.0           self-employed         Employee         89.8         34.8         55.0           self-employed         10.2         5.7         4.5           uli-time versus part-time         Full-time job         63.0         32.8         30.2           ermanent versus fixed-term employees         Permanent         72.4         26.8         45.6           part-time job         37.0         10.1         27.0         15.3           pource: Eurostat, EU LFS.         Eved-term         27.6         12.3         15.3			% contribution to employment creation 2000-08		
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## **Italy and the Lisbon strategy (2008)**

Employment rate: 58,7% (EU27: 65,4%) Female employment rate: 46,6% (EU27: 58,2%) Employment over 55: 33,8% Female Employment over 55: 23% Unemployment rate: 6,1% (EU27: 6,9%) Unemployment rate of youth: 18,6 (EU27: 15,2%)

• Part-time: 12,8% (EU27: 18%)

- Fixed-Term workers: 12,3% (EU27: 14%)
- Agency workers: 1,2% (EU15: 1.8-2%).
- Self-employed: 17,5% (EU27: 16%)
- Quasi-subordinated: 4,3%
- Undeclared jobs: 10-15%

## **Italy's labour market**

- Low rate of employment:
- in the South of the Country,
- among the women,
- young and over 55,
- Inadequate ALMPs (activation, employment centers, lifelong learning),
- Low Employment Legislation Strictness (ELS)
- Unbalanced social expenditure
- A fragmented system of social protection

# The impact of the economic crisis on jobs in Europe

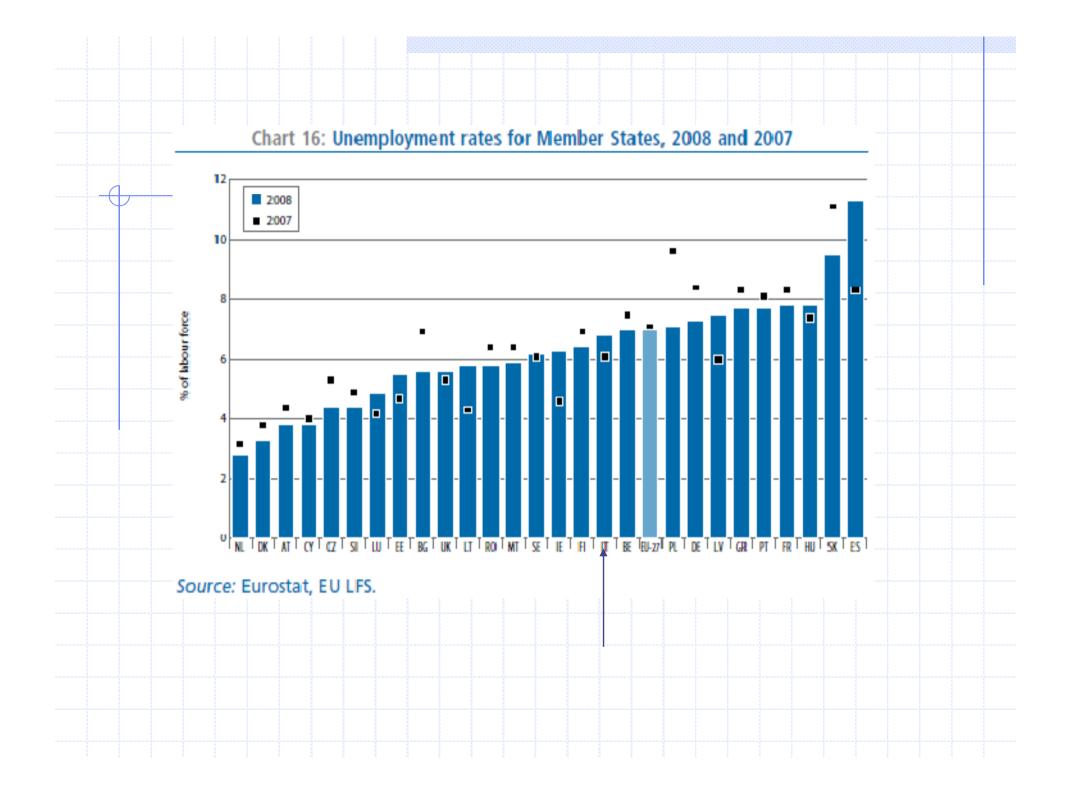
- Most of the economic indicators are in red
- 1/3 active and population in working age are out of work (unemployed + non-active)
- Atypical workers are much more at risk of poverty
- The crisis considerably aggravates problems and persistent exclusion
- Social Europe is threatened

## After and during crisis: return of mass unemployment?

The unemployment has been relatively contained by internal flexibility measures (reduced working time)

 Europe is still expected to lose more than more than 8 million jobs over 2009-10

Unemployment could reach over 10% by 2010



	2906	2007	2008	
Population (millions)		1000	and the second se	
EU-27	493	495	497	
EU-13	3990	332	3.54	
J5,A,	299	302	304	
lapan	129	128	1.28	
SDP (in 1000 million PPS	, ourrent prices)		i	
EU-27	11684	12360	12512	
U 16	10271	10927	10 993	
JSA.	10927	11416	11560	
apan	3400	5662	3 558	
teal GDP Growth (annu-	al % change)		-74540	
U-27	22 Contract (1997)	2.9	0.9	
EU-15	3.0	2.6	0.5	
JSA	2.8	2.0	1.1	
lápon	2.0	3.3	0.7	
Employment Rate (as %	of working age population	3		
EU-27	64.5	65.4	65.9	
-U-15	65.2	67.0	57.3	
J5A	71.9	75,7	70.9	
lopan	# # #	70.6	707	_
Employment Growth (ar	nual % change)			
:0-27	LE	1.0	1.02	
EU-15	3.5	1.6	0.7	
JSA,	1:9	3.1	-0.5	
lapan	0.4	0.4	-0.4	_
Joemployment Rate (as	% of chiltan labour force)		110000	
יתב טו	6.3	2.1	7.5	
:U-15	1.7	7.0	7.1	
J3A	4.0	4.6	3.5	
upon .	41	3.9	4.0	
	8 5 2 8 5 8			

#### Table 1: International comparison of key indicators, 2006-08

## "What went wrong?" Which diagnosis for which prognosis

Europe was a different place a decade ago

The unprecedented crisis in global financial markets

The knowledge-base economy by itself doesn't create automatically better jobs

*More and better jobs* are tasks very difficult to be conciliated.

## **Global scenario:**

## Europe was different a decade ago



- Increased optimism
- A more omogeneous EU (economically/socially)
- With a political majority of centre-left colations

## The diagnosis: 1) income inequality

"It may look like a financial crisis, but its essence it is one of inequal income distribution" (Sapir)

"The end of the legend of the US economic efficiency. It was based on shaky ground"

"Less income differences between countries; more within countries" (Magnusson-Strath)

Downward pressure on wages (moderation vs limitation of relocation/exter. Flex)

The "bottom collapse" and growing wage gaps

Flexible jobs haven't been created in high-paid/productive sectors

Risk of poverty vs. fall of the domestic demand

Low wage/household debts as a surrogate and survival mechanism

## 2) The politics:

## a transition towards the neo-liberal model

#### After 2005. "Lisbon 2":

#### **Political change:**

- from Left to Right
- Involution of the Commission
- Lack of the social partners' involvement
- Decreasing of importance/standstill of social directives

**Economic approach** (the new "24 integrated guidelines"):

- Employment no longer singled out as priority
- The macro-economic dimension eliminated
- Removal of obstacles to flexibility; EPL= "market imperfections"

## 3) The labour market Still a segmented

Segmentation in terms of: contractual flexibility; welfare guarantees, wages, unemployment risks, access to credit

A broad participation in the labour market doesn't always reach the most excluded. The jobs created do not always provide for decent living standard

The insider-outsider theory is not empirically supported

Reasons of a segmented labor market performances cannot be searched only on the side of the ELP index

Precarious jobs, working poor, jobless households. These jobs are not stepping stones towards better jobs

## "FlexInsecurity"

A risk concentrated on specific groups (young; low skilled).

Decrease in EPL without an increase on the security side.

The Nordic exception

# In spite of its present standstill, EU has never been so much indispensable as today

One country cannot act in isolation from all the others

- To avoid the 'temptation' of the "begger your neighbour" policy (also in the case of trade unions policis)
- We need an agenda for more social cohesion and less inequality between the different member states in Europe

### Which prognosis?

# After Lisbon, after 2010

- Europe must act with the other global partners
- Increase welfare in all its dimensions
- 3. Enlarging working population vs renewing social model
- 4. Not only more jobs but better jobs / invest in R&D
- 5. Reduce the number of bad jobs / role of the IR-systems
- 6. Invest in people / education

2.

7.

- Centrality of social justice and equality
- 8. More involvement of social partners / internal flexibility

### The *quality challange*: an high road to growth and employment

### The employment summit in Prague, May 2009

- Keep as many people as possible in jobs (working hours adjustment / European Social Fund)
- Encourage entrepreneurship / job creation "by lowering nonwage labour costs and flexicurity"
- 3. Improve efficiency of employment services
- 4. Increase high quality apprenticeship
- 5. More inclusive ALMPs
- 6. Upgrade skills at all levels / LLL
- 7. More labour mobility
- 8. Assist the unemployed and young people in starting their own business
- 9. Anticipating and menage restructuring through mutual learning and exchange of good practices
- 10. Crucial role of the social partnership

**Economic Recovery Plan 2008-2011:** (Communication from the Commission, 23/11/2009)

Tackle the recession and turn it into an opportunity: 3 priorities

- 1. Mantaining employment, creating jobs, promoting mobility;
- 2. Upgrading skills and matching labour market needs;
- **3.** Increasing access to employment

Thesis: "Strict EPL tends to raise long-term unemployment", while "spending on LMP tends to reduce it".

# **Overcoming the crisis**

### 1) To answer to immadiate employment problems 2) Towards anti-cyclical behaviour

#### In the short term

- Saving jobs: Internal flexibility in place of dismissals and external flexibility
- Support wages (tax cuts; higher minimum; beyond purchasing power)
- A European co-ordianted industrial and fiscal policy (avoid protectionis measures)
- Stimulus package of investments in green economy/infrastructures/jobs
- Social policy spending (unemployment benfits: *eligibility, generosity, duration*)

### In the medium term

- Review of the pact of stability and growth
  - From supply side measures to labour demand
- Recast welfare states

# Industrial relations as a crucial multi-level tool of governance at all such aims

### **Quality of Industrial Relations:**

The multidimesional character of the quality issues

Capacity to find <u>workers' consensus and participation</u>,
 <u>Industrial democracy</u>

1) More equity in the employment relationships vs. more efficiency in the company's performances

2) The quality of industrial relations *comes first* than quality of work and employment relationships

## **Some key indicators**

- Respect of fundamental rights
- Levels of union density
- Extention of the collective bargaining
  - coverage
- Workers reps recognition at the workplace
- Certainty/effetiveness of the workers rights

## A 'battle of ideas" around the "dominant narratives" (S. Pascual):

The ideological and semantic shifts of these years:

- The ambigous role of statistic-based indicators: quantity / quality
- Flexicurity notion and goals are semantically ambiguous and politically suspect
- From political responsibility of policy makers to the moralsuation
- From the language of rights to the individual ethic responsabilisation
- Form employees to citizens
- From citizens to clients / customers

"Depoliticisation of vulnerability" Vs. "Politicisation of subjectivity"

# **OMC** is not sufficient

 Competitiveness and employment rates are still largely determined by specific national circumstances

Risk to espropriate social partners and democratic institutions in favour of technocracies / to evade responsabilities

OMC can be good for stimulating convergence on certain standars but not rights

Now that the Lisbon Treaty is fully in force, also the Charter of Nice becomes completely binding for legislators and Courts.

Member States must retain the right to establish higher standards than those minimum of the directives

## A "New Social Deal" (ETUC) A regulated flexibility

Clever combination of legal and voluntary source

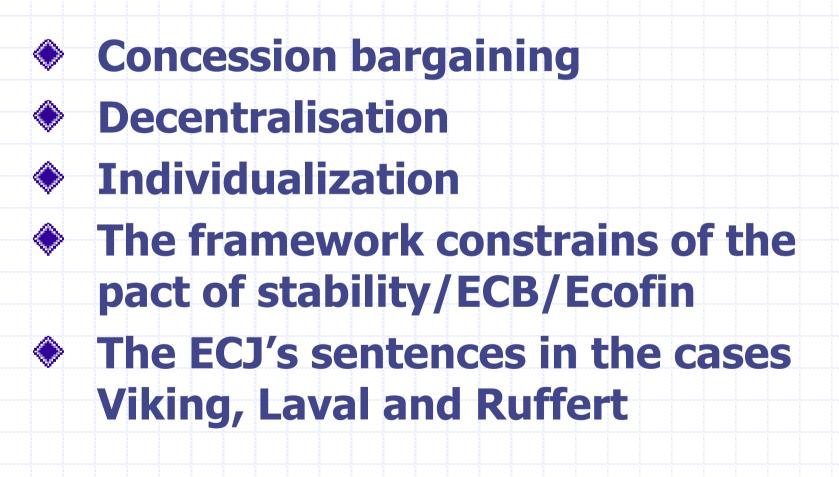
Contract of employment vs. collective agreements (individual vs. collective)

Democratic process at all the levels:
 Parliaments / Social dialogue / Civil society

	North	Centre-west	South	West	Centre-east
Production regime	Coordinated market economy		Statist market economy	Liberal market economy	Statist or liberal?
Welfare regime	Universalistic	Segmented (status-oriented, corporatist)		Residual	Segmented or residual
Employment regime	Inclusive Dualistic			Liberal	
Industrial relations regime	Organised corporatism	Social partnership	Polarised/state-centred	Liberal pluralism	Fragmented/state- centred
Power balance	Labour-oriented	Balanced	Alternating	Employer-oriented	
Principal level of bargaining	Sector		Variable/unstable	Company	
Bargaining style	Integrating		Conflict oriented		Acquiescent
Role of SP in public policy	Institutionalised		Irregular/politicised	Rare/event-driven	Irregular/politicised
Role of the state in IR	Limited (mediator)	'Shadow of hierarchy"	Frequent intervention.	Non-intervention	Organiser of transitio
Employee representation	Union based/high coverage	dual system/high coverage	Variable (*)	Union based/small coverage	Union based/small coverage
Countries	Denmark Finland Norway Sweden	Belgium Germany (Ireland) Luxembourg Netherlands Austria Slovenia (Finland)	Greece Sp ain France Italy (Hungary) Portugal	Ireland Malta Cyprus UK	Bulgaria Czech Republic Estonia Latvia Lithuania Hungary Poland Romania Slovakia

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Source: J. Visser, extended on the basis of Ebbinghaus and Visser (1997); Crouch 1993; 1996; Esping-Andersen (1990); Schmidt (2002; 2006); and Par - 1 1.17 1.1 dia amin'ny sora-deThe slow erosion of the European tradition of collective bargaining?

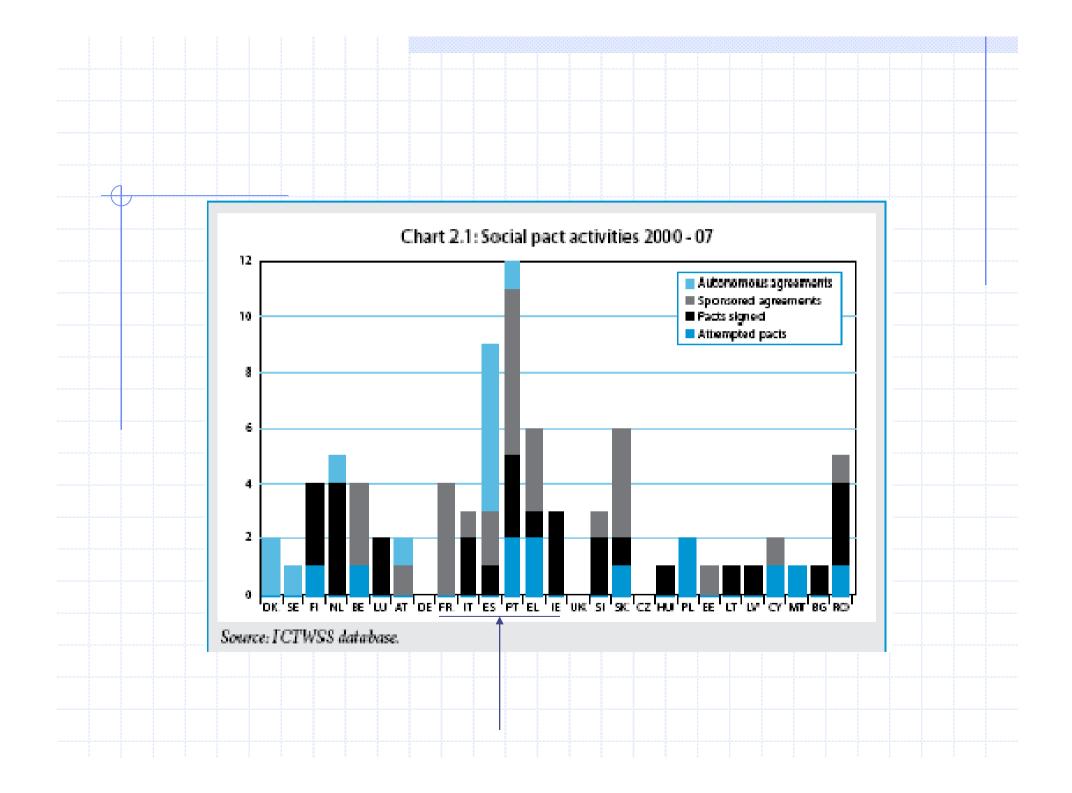


### The double "escape" of capital power from industrial relations

a) *downwards* through decision making decentralisation of new work organisation and search for direct/informal participation of individual employees or team work;

b) upwards through the trans-nationalisation and the legal "chinese boxes" of big holdings

**International Relocation =** one of the biggest concern of many Western European employees and of their collective organisation



### Sectoral social dialogue and cross-border agreements

The European sectoral social dialogue is relatively developed, with almost 500 joint texts but only a few agreements

Some sectors are very active at the level of European federations (the EMF), giving guide-lines for the co-ordination of the domestic collective bargaining or in the negotiation of agreements in some big TNCs.

Nearly 50 cross-border agreements

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# New forms of governance at company level



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Codes of conduct (50) and international framework agreements (53)

The power to sign agreements at European level continues to be a very difficult objective. The employers' associations are firmly against and also some national unions are quite sceptic

The Italian trade unions are in the ETUC front line in order to favour the evolution of the information and consultation rights towards a proper collective bargaining system at European level.