

Welfare States confronted to the challenges of climate change: a first review of the issues and possible impacts

Pr. Philippe Pochet (ETUI/ Université Catholique de Louvain)

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Context and goals of this presentation

- Very little literature on the topic but growing academic community interested in (Espanet streams,)
- Contrast with effects on employment and jobs (many studies)
- Very fractionned groups of academics (not really engaging a transversale or European dialogue)
- Mix of economists, sociologists and political scientits
- Following slides are trying to present a first summary of the challenges, existing researches and limits

Climate change/environmental context

- Impact on the long term
- Reversible only on the long term
- Increase the risk of extraordinary episodes (hurricane, drought, hot summer, etc)
- Two sides : mitigation (reduce) and adaptation (be more resilient)
- Importance of the impact of retroactions (ex: Forests)

Ecological challenges: two versions

Soft: technology, investment,
taxes, regulation green growths:

Adaptation

Hard : radical change,
production, consumption, trade,
food production :

Transformation

Governance

Two very different versions of change

1. Radical change (A or B): Hard choice. Democracy ? short time for action
2. Progressive change (A and later B) : convince, open discussion, deliberation

Science (we have to speed-up) versus society (slower change)

Environment, Social, Economy: What kind of linkages ? Different versions

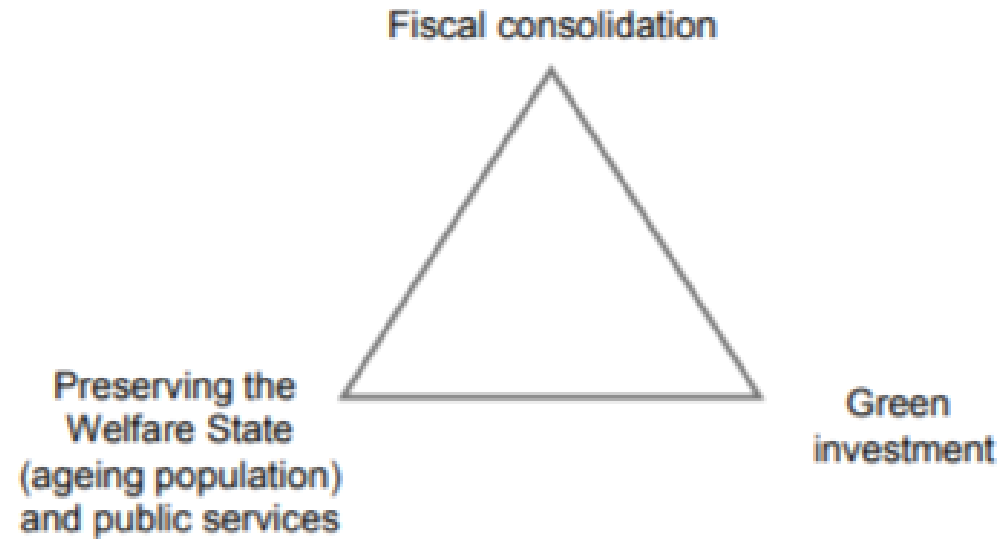
Figure 1. Importance attached to economic growth in the five approaches



Source: Sabato and Mandelli, 2019

Nexus Economy-
Social-Environment :
Complementarity
(Sustainable
development)
or
Contradiction
(trilemma)

Figure 1 The trilemma faced today



Pochet, 2010

Big story: Compare the dynamic of Welfare state and Eco state

Common points

- Capitalism (how to tame)
- Big challenges (inequalities, intergenerational solidarity, redistribution, poverty, ..)
- Risks (reduction)
- Stability of the system (possible collapse)

Ecostate according to Meadowcroft (2005)

01

Involve an extension of state authority to new area of working life

02

Constitute a response to a perceived failure of markets and voluntary action

03

Alter patterns of “normal” economic interaction, but operate within significant economic and political constraints

04

Represent a continuing adjustment of governmental activity to long term processes of economic, social, and political development

05

Have complex and contested normative associations (justice, equality, stability, citizenship,..)

Differences

1. Actors : social classes (working class), social democracy (communist) versus all on board but some argue that the rich must pay (question who are the rich?)
2. Timing (ecological debt)
3. Expenses (around 25% GDP to few % so far on ecological measures)
4. Support (discussed later)

Few studies on actor's alliance (see Jessoula and Mandelli 2019, Espanet) Eco-mobilization ? the case of the right to energy for all Europeans coalition. Tensions regulated energy (low price good for social but risk of overconsumption.

Link between welfare states domains and climate change issues

- Health (junk food, transport emissions, etc)
- Pensions (deaths due to pollution)
- Employment (restructuring, green job,...)
- Training/education
- Poverty (energy, food,..)
- Health and safety (chemical, Seveso plants, external/internal pollution)
- Housing (retrofitting, energy poverty)

No systematic review, no serious analysis, at my knowledge.

Which Inequalities ?

- 1 Unequal contribution to emissions (time frame, North/South divide, fairness, equality)
- 2 Unequal exposure to consequences & unequal capacity to protect against climate risks (environmental justice)
- 3 Unequal incidence of costs and benefits of (intensifying) climate policy (redistribution, taxation)

Petra Zsuzsa Lévy, Josefine Vanhille, Tim Goedemé, Gerlinde Verbist 2019

- **Key concept Just transition (but different definitions)**

Complex question: inequality and CO2 emissions (Suspens project)

Solidarity/decommodification/alienation

Commons goods

Out of markets (other forms of productions, cooperative, non-profit, etc..)

“The transition to carbon-neutral societies need to build on build on principles of social citizenship;

o Inclusive solidarity

o Relative autonomy

o Participation in deliberation and participation”

Source : Hvinden and Schoyen , 2019

Welfare clusters ecological clusters:

- Can we start from Esping Andersen ?
- Scandinavian leaders in both but no clear result Graciano and Zimmermann 2019 (green welfares: mapping different worlds of ecowelfare espanet)
- Some clustering Not very clear
- (BIG) Problem of indicators: for example, Green Investments or ecological index
- Huge reduction in Eastern Europe because of transition to capitalism (deindustrialisation) Eastern Europe in different clusters

Public opinion: very different results from recent studies

(Otto and Gugushvili, 2019) Four groups :

- Pro welfare and pro-environment (36,8)
- Pro welfare (28,4)
- Pro-environment (18,3)
- Anti-welfare and environment (16,5)

Results not linked with political parties' success

Fritz and Koch (2019) Partial support of welfare regime but some conservative and Mediterranean score also high.

Other study: “Although there is substantial country variation, in sum, we found no evidence of a double-worry or synergy between support for environmental and welfare policies in the sample. One interpretation of our findings is that there are different drivers behind preferences for preserving environment and preferences for income distributions”.

Jakbobsson, Muttarak, Schoyen, 2017

1. Adaptation/incremental change
2. New specific branch/sector of the social protection
3. Integrated to existing sectors

Radical Rethinking/ degrowth (sustainable welfare state project), Max Koch, Milena Büch

“Economic growth is organised around and shapes a range of tightly coupled structures, including institutions, norms, discourses, culture, technologies, competences, identities “ (...).

In a co-evolutionary process, a range of institutions developed which a now coupled to a growth-based capitalist economy including the nation state, representative democracy, the rule of law and current legal, financial, labour market, education, research welfare systems” (...)

Radical Rethinking/ degrowth (sustainable welfare state project Max Koch, Milena Büch, ...)

“The embeddedness of growth based capitalistic economic system in theses co-evolved institutions and way of thinking make it difficult to transition to a degrowth agenda because the change of the economic system would need to involve in parallel transformation of those coupled systems “

Buch and Koch, Challenges for the degrowth transition: The debate about wellbeing

On discussion:

- Basic income
- Green basic income
- Free public services (transport,...)

How to rethink ?

1. Prosperity without growth (Tim Jackson)
2. Well being
3. Needs (deliberation) Gough 2017

Link between satisfaction/good life and revenue

1. Prosperity without growth

2. Wellbeing

3. Needs