

From modernization to the knowledge economy: the trajectories of Austria and Europe

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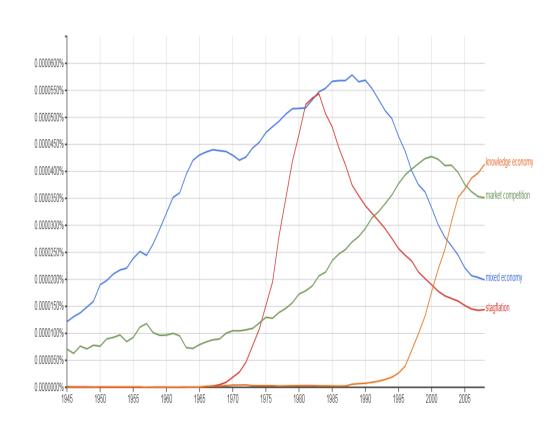
Three claims



- 1. In the decades since WWII, we have seen profound changes in how the economy works, i.e. in how growth and employment are generated
- 2. Each era is marked by a 'growth regime', i.e. distinctive economic and social policies, which are components of the 'social contract'
- 3. These growth regimes are political constructions, because economic policy-making is always political coalition-building

Four Postwar Eras

- An era of modernization (1950-70)
- 2. An era of stagflation (1970-79)
- 3. An era of liberalization (1980-1999)
- 4. An era of uncertainty (2000-)



Frequency of the phrases:

'mixed economy', 'stagflation', 'market competition' and 'knowledge economy'

- in all English language books 1945-2008 Google Ngram.

An era of modernization 1950-1970



The economic basis for growth and employment:

- prominence of mass manufacturing
- movement from agriculture to industry
- renders semi-skilled labor productive

Table 6.1. Structure of employment in western Europe, 1950–70 (percentage share: I = Agriculture, II = Industry, III = Services)

	1950			1960			1970		
	I	11	ш	I	п	Ш	I	п	Ш
Austria	34.0	35.4	30.6	24.2	39.7	36.1	18.8	40.3	40.9
Belgium	10.1	46.8	43.1	8.4	45.3	46.3	4.6	42.1	53.3
Denmark	25.1	33.3	41.6	17.8	36.1	46.1	11.3	37.1	51.7
France	28.3	34.9	36.8	21.4	36.2	42.4	13.9	38.5	47.6
West Germany	22.2	43.0	34.8	13.8	48.2	38.0	8.5	48.4	43.1
Italy	45.4	28.6	26.0	32.2	36.3	31.5	19.1	43.0	37.9
Netherlands	13.9	40.2	45.9	11.1	39.1	49.8	7.0	37.7	55.3
Norway	29.8	33.2	37.0	20.9	34.5	44.7	13.5	36.1	50.4
UK	5.1	46.5	48.4	4.1	47.8	48.1	3.2	44.1	52.7

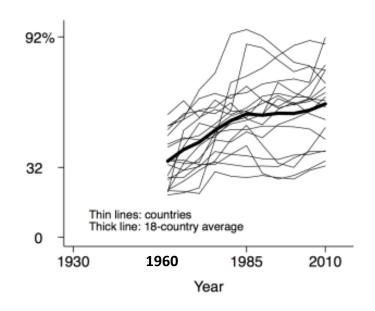
Source: I. Lateson and J.W. Wheeler (eds), Western Economies in Transition: Structural Change and Adjustment Policies in Industrial Countries (London, 1980), Table 3.2, p. 47.

An era of modernization 1950-1970



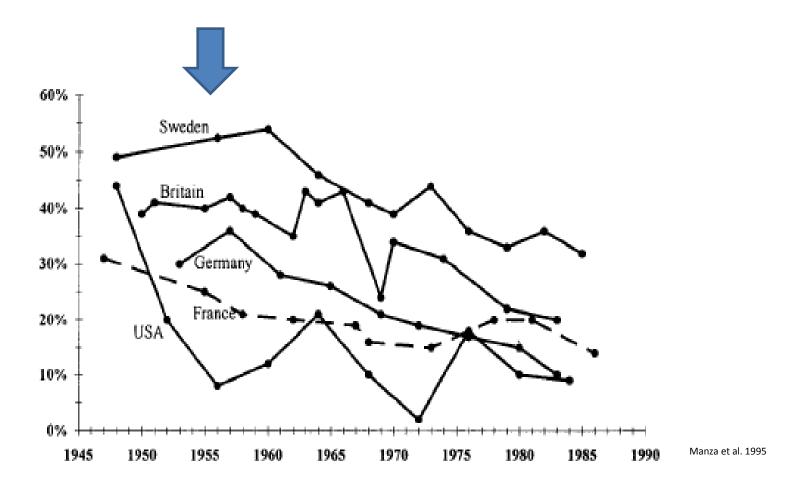
Growth regimes oriented to the managed economy:

- 1. use active macroeconomic management aimed at full employment
- 2. institutionalize regularized collective bargaining
- 3. expand social security benefits



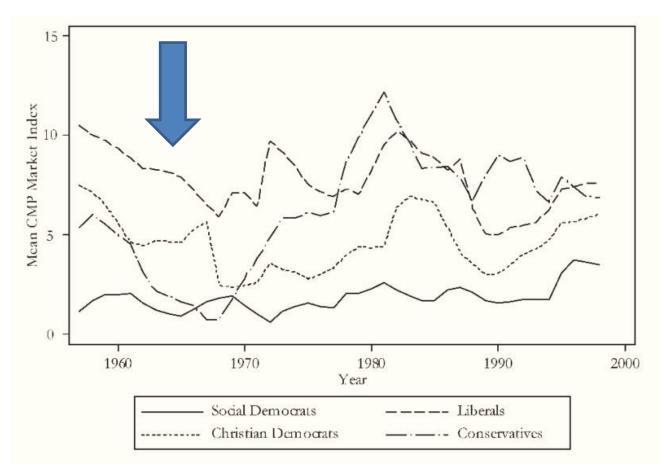
Replacement rates for social insurance programs 1960-2010

Electoral politics of the 1950s/1960s is dominated by a class cleavage



Alford index indicating the level of class-based voting

Competition around a class cleavage induces convergence in party platforms toward the 'managed economy' in the 1950s and 1960s



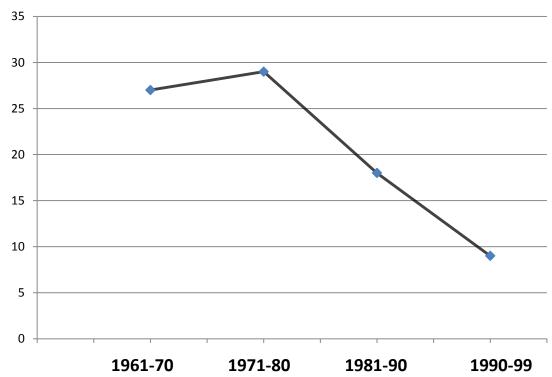
Manow et al. 2008

Support for 'free markets' in party platforms of parties in the EU 1957-99

Social Partners meet in 2017



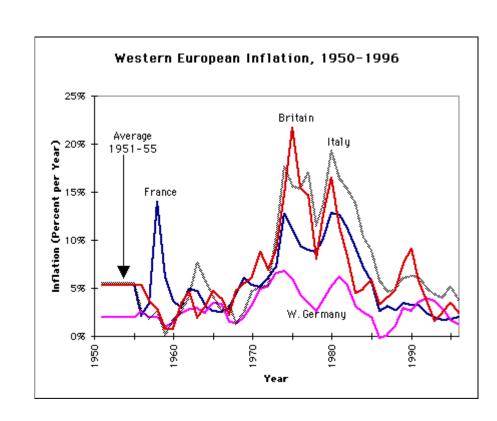
Alford index indicating the level of class-based voting in Austria



Plasser and Ulram 2008

The turbulent 1970s: a climacteric

- stagflation discredits Keynesian policies
- industrial conflict inspires a backlash against trade unions
- Europe is said to suffer from 'Eurosclerosis'
- governments look for alternatives to the growth regimes of the managed economy

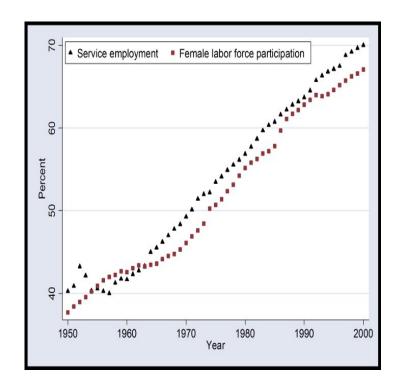


An era of liberalization 1980-2000



The economic basis for growth and employment shifted:

- rising trade outsources manufacturing jobs
- employment creation shifts toward services
- capital formation becomes more dependent on foreign investment



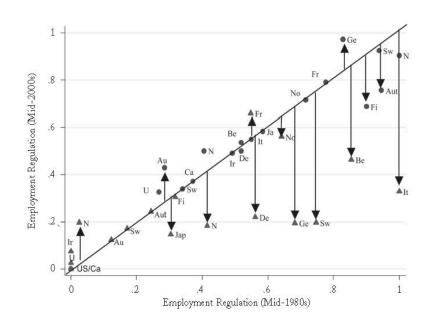
Employment in services and female employment as % total employment OECD

An era of liberalization 1980-2000



Growth regimes are now oriented to neoliberal policies:

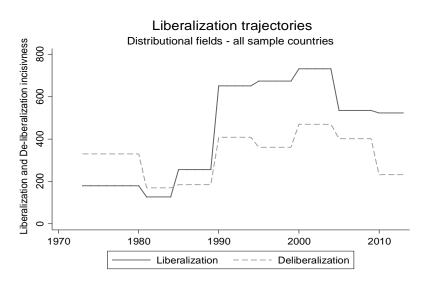
- 1. supply-side policies replace demand-side economic management
- 2. deregulation to make product and labor markets more intensely competitive
- 3. welfare increasingly oriented toward 'workfare'



Employment regulation mid-1980s vs early 2000s OECD

Movement to liberalizing policies

OECD



Liberlization trajectories

2000

Deliberalization

2010

Regulatory policy fields - all sample countries Liberalization and De-liberalization incisivness

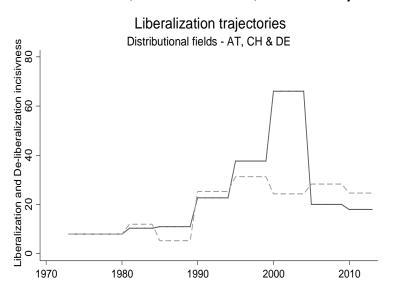
1990

Liberalization

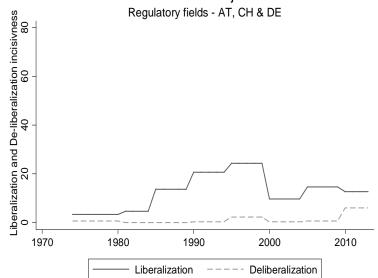
1980

1970

Austria, Switzerland, Germany

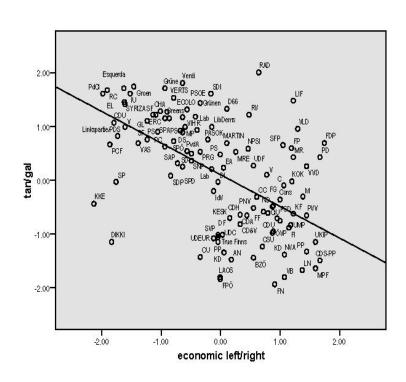


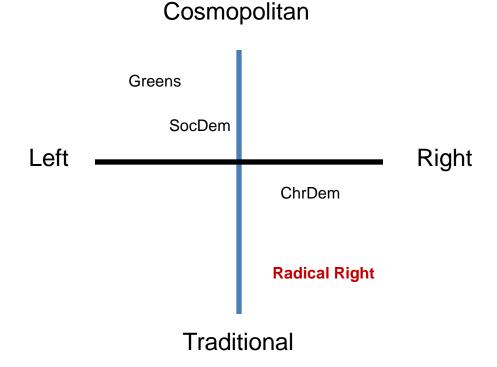
Liberalization trajectories



Armingeon and Fill 2018

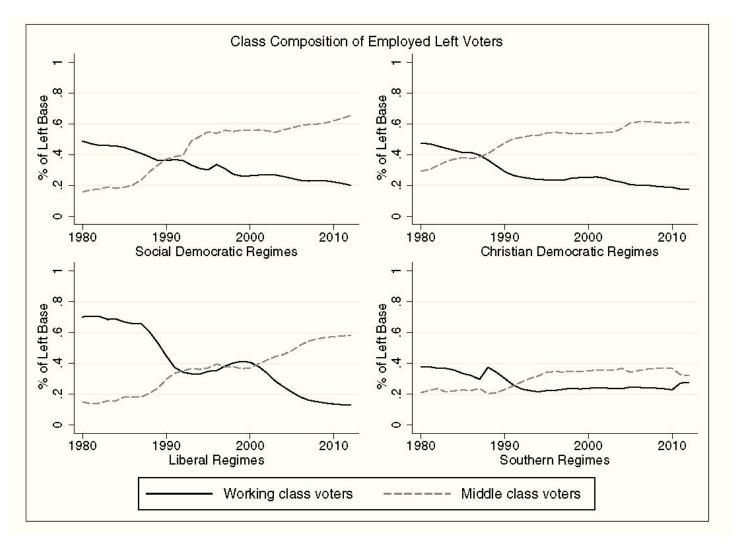
The class cleavage is cross-cut by a values cleavage



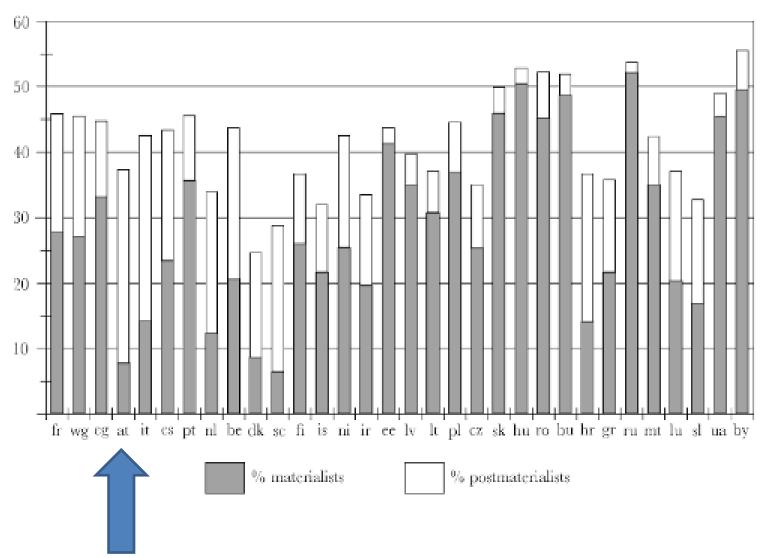


Placement of West European parties on distributive issues (x axis) and values issues (Y axis) 2006.

Center-left parties develop a middle class constituency that limits their ability and willingness to act as parties of working-class defense



Percent of post-materialists in 2000

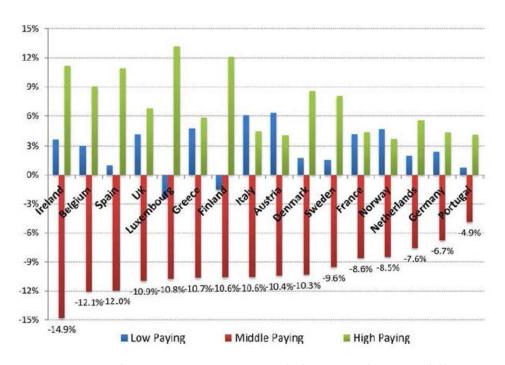


An era of uncertainty? 2000 -



The economic basis for growth and employment shifts again:

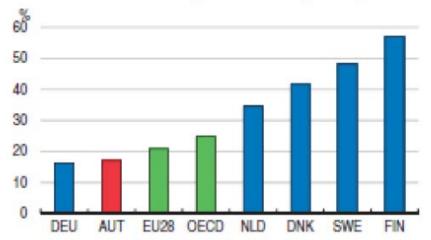
- 1. Growth is more dependent on technological innovation
- 2. This requires a labor force with high levels of skill
- 3. It requires 'adventurous' capital



Change in occupational shares in low, middle and high wage occupations, 1993-2010

Austria lags in preparations for a knowledge economy

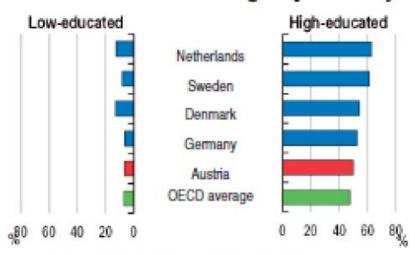
Share of firms using cloud computing, 2016



Source: Eurostat and OECD Digital Economy Outlook 2017 (forthcoming).

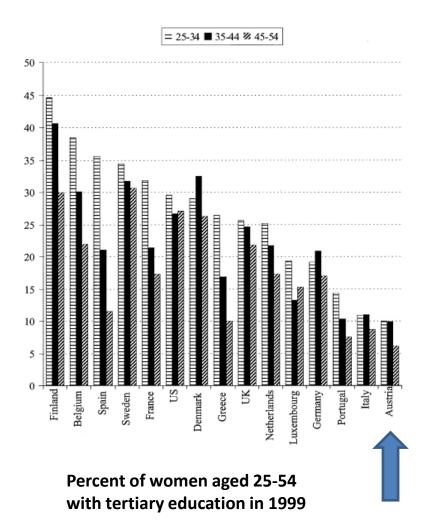
StatLink http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933537121

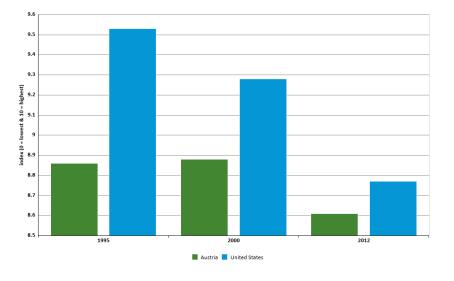
Adults with advanced digital proficiency



Source: Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC) (2012, 2015).

StatLink http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933537140





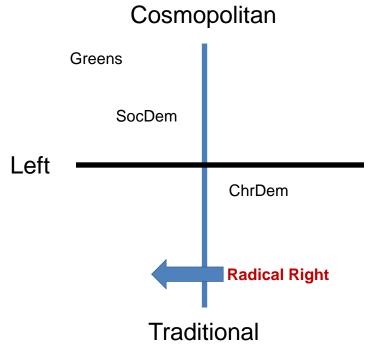
Readiness for a knowledge economy in Austria (green) and the US (blue) 1995-2012

Dolado et al. 2001 World Bank KEI 2018

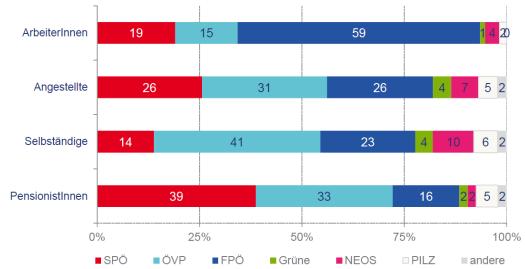
The politics of uncertainty

Right





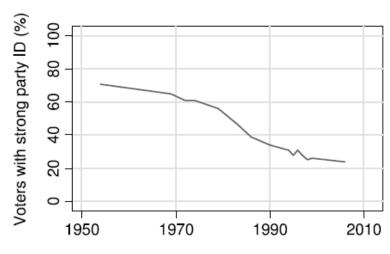
Vote by occupation in 2017 Austrian election



New growth regimes? A new social contract?

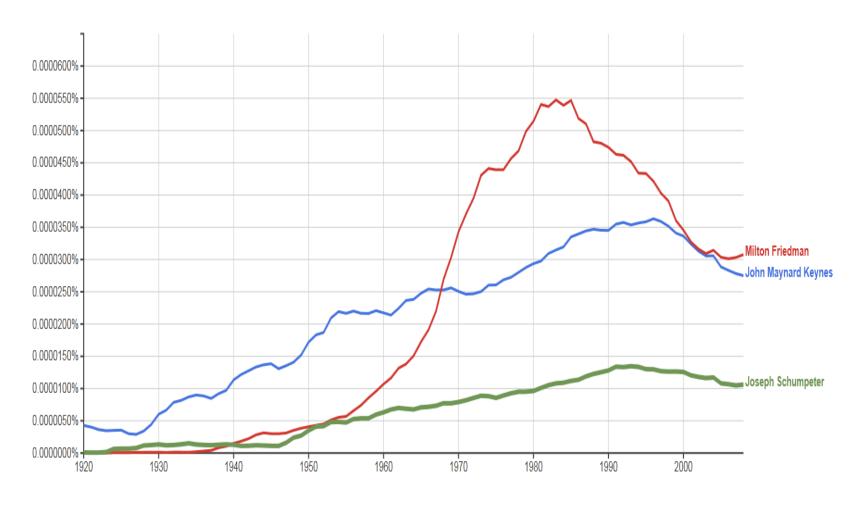


- Perhaps a retreat from international integration, as trade protection replaces social protection?
- Ad hoc coalitions and policies in a context of electoral fragmentation?
- Are there coalitions to promote knowledge-based growth?
- But social partnership gives Austria a hidden advantage – cf. Sweden



Electoral dealignment in Austria

A new Schumpeterian era?



Frequency of the phrases – 'John Maynard Keynes', 'Milton Friedman' and 'Joseph Schumpter" – in all English language books 1920-2008 Google Ngram.



Thank You