# Social protection floor gaps and pandemic relief measures: a case for universalism?

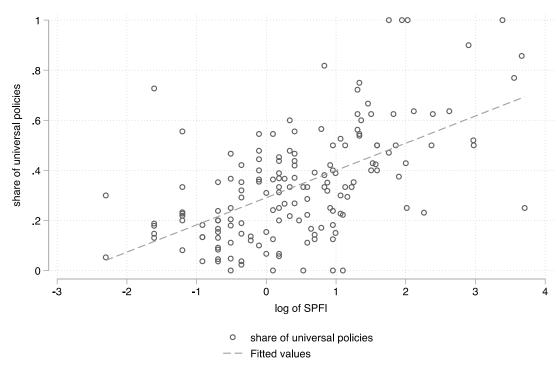
Exploring scalability through targeted versus universalist measures

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# Universal policies more prominent where SP gaps exist

- Less SPF implementation (ILO 202 Social Protection Floors), more universal pandemic responses
- Variations across high income countries versus rest of the world: overall targeted responses dominate but share of universal policies is lower in high income countries



Source: author's construction based on UNESCWA 2022, FES 2022

## Universal or targeted

#### Targeted:

Selectivity – mostly based on defined need Dominant method Fiscally more feasible

Inclusion/exclusion errors
Political support – who benefits
Social costs (stigma/shame)

#### **Universal**:

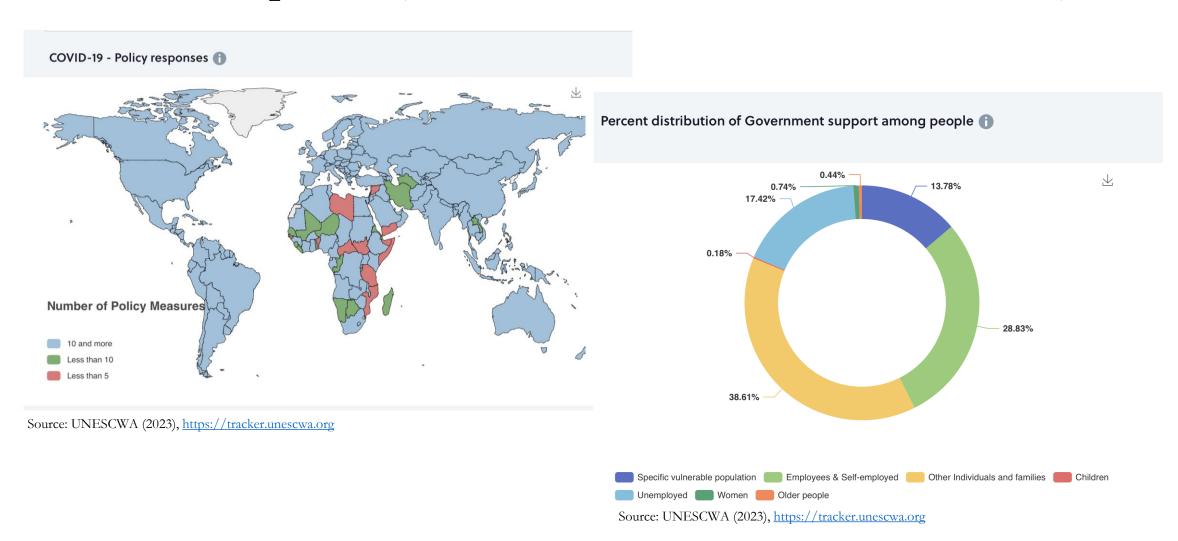
Available to all
More contested
Expensive

No targeting costs
Political support - fairness
Social cohesion (?)

# SP policy innovation – design matters

- Rapid expansion in SP due to pandemic in 2020/2021 (UNESCWA, 2021)
- SP as vital tool for crisis response (Behrendt 2021)
- Institutional learning
- Design: adequacy, equitable, inclusive, timely
- Adaptive Social Protection
- Universal or targeted approaches best given existing SP systems?

#### Pandemic response (Covid stimulus tracker UNESCWA)



#### Defining universal

Policies that 'aim to reach every citizen passing a basic criterion, often categorical schemes for all people of a certain age [e.g. pensions] or status [e.g. child benefits]' (Devereux et al. 2015: 9)

Examples in the data

Universal: all, children and adolescents, elderly, families/hh (not specified) individuals (not specified), individuals and families, youth

**Targeted:** people with disabilities, categorically targeted hh, Female-headed household, indigenous people, PMT targeted hh, unemployed, specific vulnerable pop, ...

Table A4: Distinction into universal and targeted policies by target beneficiary

Target beneficiary	Universal	Targeted	Total
All (people, business, and economy)*	X		549
Categorically targeted households		X	107
Children and adolescents	X		42
Coronavirus patients		X	10
Elderly	X		96
Employees		X	555
Families/households (not specified)	X		111
Female-headed households		X	15
Homeless people		X	8
Indigenous people		X	10
Individuals (not specified)	X		248
Individuals and families	X		102
Non-SMEs		X	299
Non-citizens including migrants, refugees, and stateless people		X	29
People in prison		X	2
People with disabilities		X	33
Poor households (PMT targeted)		X	89
SMEs		X	413
SMEs/non-SMEs		X	722
Self-employed workers and professionals		X	203
Specific vulnerable population		X	117
Students		X	42
Unemployed		X	177
Victim of gender-based violence against women		X	10
Women		X	26
Women employees		X	17
Women entrepreneurs		X	16
Youth	X		20
Total	1,168	2,900	4,068

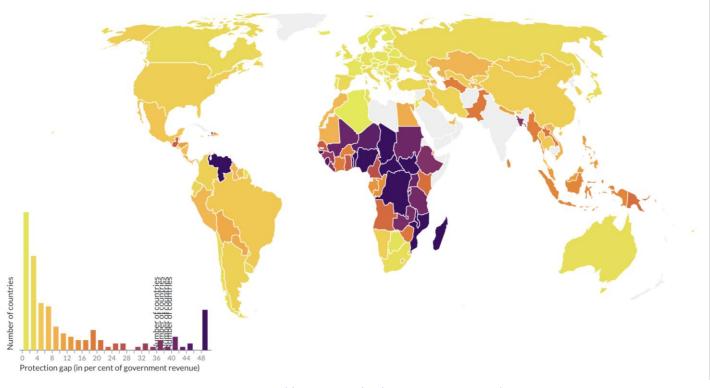
Note: PMT = proxy means tested; \* this is a non-aggregated category included in the dataset and thus not one constructed by the author: it is thus not possible to separate this category into e.g. people only and business only as separate categories.

Source: author's construction based on UNESCWA (2022).

#### SPFI – Social Protection Floor Index

- Data from 2018
- Financing gap expressed as minimum share of a country's GDP needed to close existing income and health protection gaps
- Income: aggregated poverty gap (PGR) as % of GDP
- Health: public health expenditure using avg. staffing ratios<sup>1</sup> and allocation using birth attendance shortfall<sup>2</sup>

• Using 50% of median income poverty line



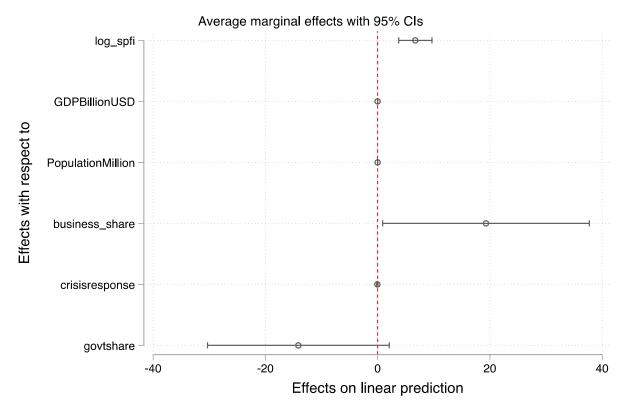
Source: Friedrich Ebert Foundation, 2023: <a href="https://www.fes.de/en/shaping-a-just-world/international-community-and-civil-society/translate-to-english-social-protection-floor-index-2020">https://www.fes.de/en/shaping-a-just-world/international-community-and-civil-society/translate-to-english-social-protection-floor-index-2020</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> medical staffing ratio, avg 5.9 per 1000 people across 167 countries (0.5 std, 4.3 % of GDP health spending)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> percentage of births attended by professional measured against normative benchmark of 95% births professionally attended

### SPF gaps and universalism – a first association

- Universalism chosen as effective pandemic relief where SP gaps exist
- Ad-hoc/ once-off design shift or lasting changing going forward?
- Re-thinking conceptual boundaries of Social Protection new and old beneficiaries (businesses)
- Financing: short-term crisis relief versus long-term implementation



Source: author's construction based on UNESCWA 2022, FES 2022

#### A case for universalism?

- Existing SP systems matter for the design of crisis response
- Political feasibility: Does the accumulated experience of crisis have lasting changes on voter's fairness perceptions universal versus targeted and political support
- Fiscal feasibility: What are sustainable financing mechanism for either more responsive/ fine-tuned targeting versus larger scale universalism? Costs of horizontal versus vertical expansions