

# Danish reform policy

Reykjavik June 25, 2024

Otto Brøns-Petersen

#### Denmark, an economic success story?



GNI per capita USD 80.491 (2022). No. 5 in the world
 Fiscal sustainability 1½ per cent of GDP

- Net government debt eliminated
- Unemployment 2.9 per cent (April 2024)
- Current account 11.1 per cent of GDP (2023)
- Inflation 2.2 per cent (May 2024)

#### Questions



- Is Denmark proof that socialism can work, or that welfare-statism is a superior economic system?
- Has Denmark always been an economic success story, or what did it take?
- Did the welfare state make Denmark rich?





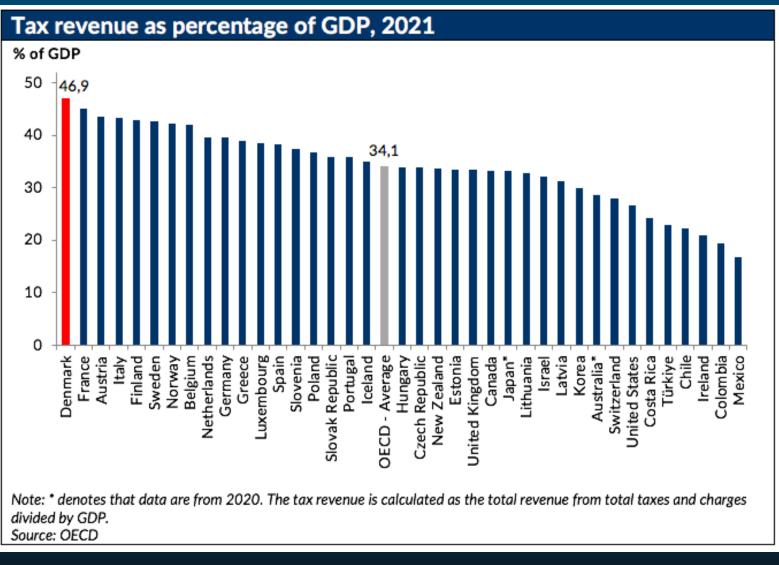
- Denmark is not socialist
- Denmark was rich long before the welfare state was introduced
- The introduction of the welfare state created huge economic imbalances
- Denmark had to undertake decades of economic reforms to deal with them





- Denmark is not socialist
- Denmark was rich long before the welfare state was introduced
- The introduction of the welfare state created huge economic imbalances
- Denmark had to undertake decades of economic reforms to deal with them

#### Taxes are high





### High economic freedom ranking

CEPOS Center for Politiske Studier

- Denmark is no. 7 on the Economic Freedom of the World Index (Fraser Institute et al).
- Denmark is no. 7 on the Heritage Economic Freedom Index
- Denmark is no. 3 on the CATO Institute Human Freedom Index

## Danish score on the EFI (rank)

Overall score	8.1	(5)
Size of government	5.2	(143)
Legal system and property rights	9.1	(2)
Sound money	9.6	(7)
Freedom to trade internationally	8.3	(31)
Regulation	8.4	(4)
Credit market regulation	10.0	
Labor market regulation	7.3	
Business regulation	7.1	
Freedom to compete	9.1	

(Max. score: 10.0)

CEP Center for Pol



#### Nordic countries on EFI

- Finland no. 17
- Denmark no. 5
- Norway no. 29
- Sweden no. 17
- Iceland no. 14

• Freest parts combined no. 1.

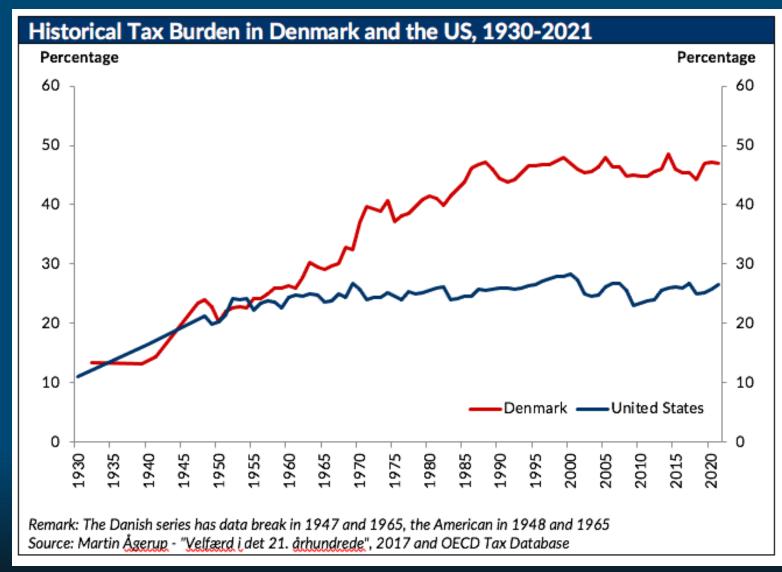




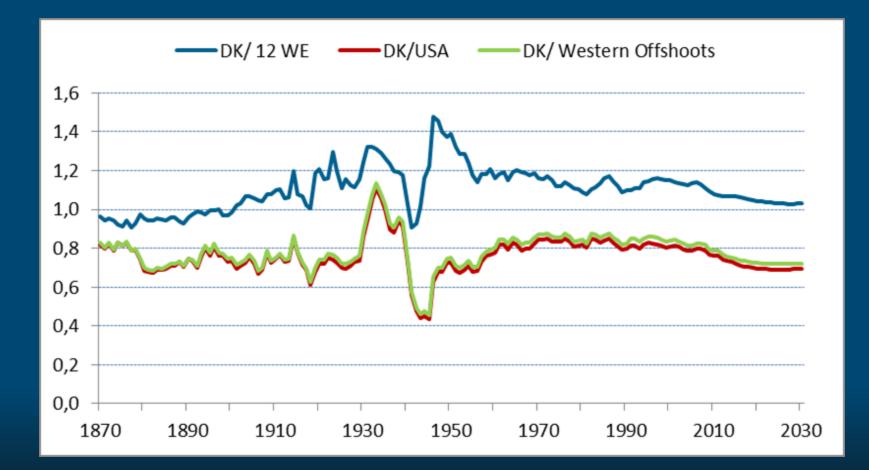
- Denmark is not socialist
- Denmark was rich long before the welfare state was introduced
- The introduction of the welfare state created huge economic imbalances
- Denmark had to undertake decades of economic reforms to deal with them



#### Denmark used to have low taxes



#### When did Denmark become rich?



CEPOS

12





- Denmark is not socialist
- Denmark was rich long before the welfare state was introduced
- The introduction of the welfare state created huge economic imbalances
- Denmark had to undertake decades of economic reforms to deal with them

## The political evolution of the welfare state



- 1956: "Folkepensionen". Universal pay-go old age pension
- 1959: The Venstre-Konservative liberal economic plan
- 1966-67: "The red cabinet" (S): Tax base and welfare spending expanded
- 1967-71: VKR-government (V,K,R): Do.
- 1971-82: Mostly S gvts: Unsuccesful crisis management
- 1982-92: Schlüter gvts (V,K,Q,M,R): Economic reconstruction and reform
- 1992-present: Continuing reforms

### The Danish economy anno 1982

CEPOS Center for Politiske Studier

- Unemployment: 9.8 per cent
- Inflation 10.4 per cent
- Balance of payment deficit 4.4 per cent of GDP
- Gross government debt 67.0 per cent of GDP
- Government deficit 9.1 per cent of GDP





- Denmark is not socialist
- Denmark was rich long before the welfare state was introduced
- The introduction of the welfare state created huge economic imbalances
- Denmark had to undertake decades of economic reforms to deal with them

### Public finances of successive gvts



Government	Chg Spending	Chg Reciepts	Chg Balance
Krag (S) 66-67	3.2	2.7	-0.5
Baunsgaard (RV) 67- 71	6.2	9.0	0.7
Jørgensen/Hartling (S/V) 71-82	14.8	1.7	-13.1
Schlüter (K) 82-92	-0.8	6.1	7.0
Nyrup Rasmussen (S) 92-01	-3.5	0.2	3.7
Fogh Rasmussen (V) 01-09, Løkke Rasmussen (V) 09- 11, 15-19, Thorning Schmidt 11-15 (S)	-2.4	-2.0	-0.6

## Elements of economic reform since 1982



- Fixed exchange rate (ERM) 1982-present
- Fiscal consolidation through tax increases and welfare reform
- EU fiscal rules and the budget law
- Tax reforms
- Welfare reform (indexing pension age)
- "Active" labour market reform and "flexicurity"
- Private pension savings
- Easing rent control
- Privatisation and utility deregulation
- Internal Market of EU
- Financial deregulation and reregulation
- The tax stop

## The prominence of tax and welfare reforms



Average economic growth p.a. 1986-2018	1.6
- Of which	
<ul> <li>underlaying growth</li> </ul>	1.1
- reforms	0.5
- of which	
- tax reforms 0.3	
- other 0.2	

## Growth is more important than redistribution



- Average income in the bottom 40 pct. of income distribution grew by a factor of eight from 1919-2019
- Taxes grew from 10 to 47.5 per cent of GDP
- Composition of income growth in the bottom 40 per cent:
  - Economic growth, direct effect
  - Redistribution
  - Combined effect

54.4 per cent
9.2 per cent
36.4 per cent
100 per cent

## Challenges and the need for further reform



- Taxes and spending very high Fiscal super sustainability is turning into spending EU fiscal discipline crisis and "common" debt
- High marginal taxation of labour income
- High and uneven level of taxation of savings
- Corporate tax rate reductions have dried out
- Increasing level of regulation (factor 3 since 1989), including EU regulation
- Underlying growth is low
- Baumol disease in public sector spending
- Need for further welfare state privatization (a la pensions)