

## ベント・グリーヴ教授研究会報告

### はじめに

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経済学部政策プロジェクト研究「福祉国家の持続可能性ユニット」では、立教大学招聘研究員制度を利用し、2012年5月～6月デンマーク・ロスキレ大学のベント・グリーヴ教授を招き研究会を行った。グリーヴ教授はロスキレ大学社会グローバル学部(旧社会科学学部)の教授であり、長年にわたって経済学的手法を幅広く使って福祉国家研究に従事されてきた。デンマークにおける福祉国家研究の第一人者であるといっておく、研究のみならず現実のデンマークの社会政策にも影響力を有している。

グリーヴ教授は、われわれのユニットの研究目的に基づいて研究会で報告された。この他、5月24日、本学経済研究所主催の公開講演会「デンマーク人は幸福か？ なぜか？ 何が重要か？」をテーマに講演を行った。さらに、社会政策学会第124回大会テーマ別分科会「社会的投資としての育児・介護サービス デンマークと日本」において報告を行った。

本記録は本ユニットでの2回の研究会での報告の概要である。研究会当日は丁寧に準備されたスライドに基づき報告がなされた。討論の内容も反映して、後日、グリーヴ教授自らがまとめたものが、ここに掲載する記録である。なお、図表はグリーヴ教授作成のスライドから、菅沼の判断で挿入したものである。

以下、簡単に2つの報告を要約しておく。第1報告「福祉国家は持続可能か？ どのような危機か？」(5月30日開催)では、2008(2007)年金融危機後の福祉国家の動向を「危機」の観点から分析する視点を提示したものである。危機および福祉国家の危機は、これまで何度も経験してきたが、近時の金融危機はより深刻に見える。ここではヨーロッパの3つの福祉国家モデル(レジーム)を分析の枠組みとしながら、危機の具体的な現象の仕方と、各国の対応の多様性を指摘している。例えば、危機の影響の度合は北欧の普遍主義モデルが最も大きく、次いで保守主義モデル、自由主義モデルの順になることが予想されたが、普遍主義モデルの変化はそれほどではなかったと指摘している。また、各国の経済への介入の様式も多様であったことを指摘している。労働市場への介入は、自由主義のイギリスをはじめいずれの国も採用したが、ワークシェアリングを採用したドイツ、ワークファーストを強めた北欧など多様性があっ

た。各国に共通して採用された政策は生涯訓練（学習）であったという。次に、「福祉国家の持続可能性」について検討している。そこでは各国の財政赤字の拡大が、福祉国家政策の出勤を制約し、130%の財政赤字は長期的な持続が困難であることを指摘している。各国が採りうる政策は、大きく分けて「福祉抑制策」「景気刺激策」「増税」の3つであるが、多くの国は景気刺激策を採用しようとしている。だが、財政赤字の拡大のため景気刺激策は採りにくくなっている。可動的な対象に課税することは、グローバル経済のもとでは、国際的なミニマム税制の合意を作らない限り、困難であると述べている。増税ではなく、課税ベースを拡大すること、あるいは、課税対象を「不可動的な対象」 家屋・土地などの不動産、消費税などに移行させていくことが、ありうべき財源調達の方ではないかと指摘している。

第2報告「人口構造の変化と福祉国家 - 解決策はあるのか？」（6月1日開催）では、将来予測は極めて困難であるが、人口構造の高齢化と福祉テクノロジーの革新はほぼ確実に予想される事態であり、これに基づいた対策を考える必要があることを指摘する。人口高齢化に伴う従属人口の増大は、理論的には失業率の低下と労働市場の逼迫をもたらす、経済成長の制約になりうるという。また、長寿化は、公的な支出を増大させるかも知れないが、他方で健康寿命が伸びて、支出の激増は抑えられる可能性もある。特に年金は、労働力人口が減少すると、財政が逼迫することになるという。このためヨーロッパの多くの国ではこれまでの賦課方式から積立方式に重点をおく改革が試みられているが、これは個人積立や保険料拠出に比例させることで労働市場に留まるインセンティブを与える意図もあると指摘される。だが、引き続き基礎年金は重要であろう。年金の支給開始年齢の引き上げや労働市場と年金との関連を強めることは、引退年齢の柔軟化も意味するという。また、労働力供給増大という観点からは、移民の受入増大が考えられるが、若くて学歴の高い移民を受け入れることが必要であるという。これら以外の労働力供給増大策は女性の就業率の引き上げである。北欧では女性の就業率が高く、またパートタイム労働者が多いが、そのパートタイム労働はフルタイムに近づいている。教育機会の拡充と労働力の質の向上により、供給を増大させるということが1つの選択肢として考えられる。また、介護など社会サービスに従事する労働者の不足は深刻な問題である。だが、今後も経済が成長していくとすれば、これまで同様に、経済資源の不足問題のみならず、資源の分配問題は引き続き政策的課題となる。このため福祉テクノロジーの活用は高齢者の生活を改善する有益な対策となる。このテクノロジーは市場ベースで拡大する可能性があり、国家と市場と市民社会の境界の変化をもたらすであろうと予測する。近年のヨーロッパ福祉国家の変化は、金融危機の影響もあるが、経済が常に福祉国家に圧力をかけていることも原因である。だが、これらの圧力にもかかわらず、福祉国家の多様性は残っており、北欧諸国はこれらの変化に対応しようとしているように思われると締めくくっている。

以上の報告は、福祉国家の持続可能性を検討する際の重要な論点を提示していることは明らかであろう。グリーヴ教授は、人口高齢化やグローバル化、そしてリスクや不確実性が福祉国

家に様々な圧力をもたらしていることを直視されるが、福祉国家は持続可能であること、だが、そのためには福祉国家は変化しなければならないことを指摘されている。また、各国の多様性は今後も残り続けることを指摘されている。そのような意味で日本の福祉国家をどのように変化させつつ持続させていくべきなのか、日本人自身が考えなければならないことをも示唆されているとみるべきであろう。

## A Sustainable Welfare State?<sup>1)</sup>

Professor Bent Greve, Roskilde University

The debate concerning a welfare state in crisis is not new. This debate has been going on since the late seventies in the wake of the first and second oil-price crisis with quadrupling of oil prices. Today the debate revolves around how to ensure that it is possible to have a sustainable welfare state now and in the future.

Crisis and bubbles in the economies has been there for a very long time, cf. for example, the Tulip Bubble in the Netherlands in 1637. However more recently we have seen the East-Asian financial crisis in 1997/98 and we have especially been aware of the problems with how to finance the welfare states as a consequence of the economic crisis stemming from problems in the financial sector and housing market starting in the US in 2007. The present economic crisis seems although to be far stronger and more long-lasting than previous economic crisis, especially given the fall in GDP in many countries, and, also that the pathway back to a stronger level of economic growth only more limited has taken place.

A core question although is what is a crisis? Given that economies both in the short and long-run will have times with faster and slower economic growth a short change do not necessarily imply a crisis. However, a crisis can be understood as one where there is a more fundamentally need for change in policy, and can therefore also be argued to be at a time where there is a critical juncture for change in welfare state and welfare state policies. Regarding welfare states this could also be argued to be a time where the support from voters or more generally accepted legitimacy of the welfare state is at stake. It can also be argued to be a crisis when there is lack of economic options to finance the welfare states<sup>2)</sup>.

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1) This short article is a summary of a lecture given at Rikkyo University, Tokyo on the 30th of May, 2012.

2) Sustainability and crisis related to environmental issues and use of scarce resources is outside the scope of this short presentation.

Crisis of welfare states do not necessarily imply a convergence towards the same type of welfare states, neither that all countries will pursue the same avenue in relation to the impact of recent pressure on the welfare state. Historical traditions and the existing path chosen can and will presumably have an impact on decisions. At the outset pressure would be expected to be highest on the in Europe Nordic universal welfare state models, given that they to a larger degree than others are financed out of general taxation. A liberal welfare model with a higher reliance on the market would be less influenced, with the conservative type of welfare states in the middle. In Europe however, it seems that especially the Southern European welfare states has been hardest hit by the crisis and recession, but also dramatically changes has taken place in liberal welfare model countries like the UK and Ireland. Changes have been witnessed in the Nordic countries, but not to such a degree as what one should have expected.

We have also been witnessing that, despite difference in welfare state and labour market model, many countries have used not only one type of intervention, but have used very diverse type of initiatives to cope with the financial crisis and the high level of unemployment.

Table 1

Crisis measures in welfare states	US	NL	UK	DE	DK	SW
Keynesian measures						
Investing in jobs	X	X	X	X	X	X
Investing in infrastructure				X		
Tax measures				X		X
Tax relief				X	X	
Monetary policy						
Lowering interest rate	X	X	X	X	X	X
Money creation			X			
Buying government bonds				X		

Investing in jobs has thus, although the size of the intervention has varied, been used in many welfare state, including liberal types such as the US and UK. Different types of work-sharing has also been used with the short-time-working scheme in Germany being one of the most profound examples hereof. At the same time increased focus has been on what has been labeled a work-first approach, and, by this, at least

in the Nordic welfare states, a movement away from the historically clear focus on training and education as central aspect of labour market policy has been reduced. Nevertheless, all around Europe an increasing focus, at least at the rhetorical level, has been put on life-long learning. This as an increase in the understanding of that jobs in the future will require constant updating and constant focus on new skills, and, also that the European economies will presumably have a decline in the number of unskilled jobs in the future.

Table 2

Labour policy responses	US	NL	UK	DE	DK	SW
Labour demand measures						
Job subsidies, recruitment incentives, public job creation			X			X
Reductions in non-wage labour costs					X	X
Short-time working schemes		X		X	X	
Measures to help the unemployed find work						
Activation requirements			X	X		
Job search assistance and matching	X	X	X	X		X
Job finding and business startup incentives						
Work experience programs	X		X			X
Training programs	X	X	X	X	X	X

The question of sustainability of the welfare states also revolves around the level of public sector debt which especially in Southern Europe has been difficult to finance at an interest rate making it possible to ensure sufficient public sector revenue, and, also options to try to reduce the level in the future. A debt rate of more than around 130 % of GDP is in Europe at the present interest rate level seen as been unsustainable in the longer run. This also given that the payment of interest on the debt might crowd-out public sector spending on the welfare state including those types of spending seeing the welfare state as an investment state.

A central question thus being what is the possible pathways out of the crisis. Part of this discussion in fact centers around an old discussion related to different understanding and perceptions of market-failure and government failure, e.g. what failure have the strongest impact on the economic development and what kind of instruments will best be available to enhance economic growth and ensuring stability in the financing of the welfare state. It is also a discussion about to what degree

welfare should be delivered by the state, the market, the civil society or in what kind of combination hereof.

In principle countries have three different ways of out the crisis:

- a) Welfare austerity measures
- b) Economic growth stimulating policy
- c) Increase in the level of taxes and duties

Countries in Europe have pursued different strategies, but there has been a focus in several countries on austerity measures, but increase in taxes and duties and initiatives to stimulate economic growth has also taken place. Reasons for looking growth stimulating policies have been twofold. One is that an increase in the level of economic growth is needed in order to reduce the level of unemployment, and, especially the unemployment for youth is extremely high in several EU-member states. Another is that a reduction in the level of unemployment could both reduce public sector spending on social benefits, but also increase the level of public sector income. The problem being that several countries given the already high level of public sector debt has not been able to find the necessary means to stimulate economic growth without risk of increasing the already high level of interest to be paid on the public sector loans.

Looking specifically on the ways of financing welfare countries has different options and strategies. One, which has been pursued in most OECD and EU-member states over the last 20 30 years has been to broaden the tax-base and by this with the same level of taxes could increase public sector revenue.

Given the increasingly globalized world, and, increased interconnectedness among the economies in the world, this has also as implication that the tax-structure, in order to be sustainable, will need to have more focus on how to tax immobile factors (such as houses, land, local consumption), as taxation of mobile factor such as capital will be more difficult, unless there is a consensus internationally on, for example, a minimum level of taxes. Given the environmental issues perhaps also more focus on how to tax environmental damaging activities, and, use of non-renewable sources could be more in focus in the years to come.

Naturally, full employment strategies could also help in ensuring that the welfare states will be sustainable in the future given, as argued earlier, that this would

Table 3

Another study's discussion	Germany	United Kingdom	Sweden
Employment policies: activation programmes	State investments in training-on-the-job, job-to-job placements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• State investments in mediating for jobs</li> <li>• Training possibilities for unemployed, esp. young persons</li> <li>• Bonus for employers when recruiting long-term unemployed</li> </ul>	Places created for temporary work in (semi-) public sectors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Student grant people over 25 increased</li> <li>• Employer tax for hiring long-term unemployed decreased</li> </ul>
Employment policies: passive programmes	Extension of drawing period for short-time work allowances out of general taxes. State reimburses expenses of employers	Increase in maximum weekly pay to calculate statutory redundancy benefit	Qualifying period reduced, demand of work history dropped for unemployment benefits
Tax cuts/social security contribution cuts	Tax rate first bracket lowered  Allowances in personal income tax increased  Social security contributions lowered  Health insurance contributions lowered	Allowances in personal income tax increased, except for high incomes	First threshold income tax raised  In-work tax credit lowered  Income tax deduction raised  Social security contributions lowered, especially for young people  Payroll tax contributions lowered, especially for young people
Pensions, retirement	Partial retirement scheme for older employees, subsidized by state	Marginal non-recursive pension bonus	Tax rate of pensioners lowered

both reduce public sector spending and increase revenue from taxes and duties.

So, although the welfare state is said to be in crisis, this has been so before, and the welfare state has with changes, recalibration and changes still survived. This could also be the expectations especially for the Nordic welfare state in the years to come.

## Demographic Challenges for the Welfare State : Is a Solution Available?<sup>3)</sup>

Professor Bent Greve, Roskilde University

A Danish proverb says: Don't make predictions, particularly about the future. This is a clear indication of that predictions about the future is very difficult, and, also part of the reason why we have had financial crisis and bubbles as systematic knowledge on the future is difficult to obtain. External shocks like change in oil prices, natural disaster, terror and new diseases are all issue that can influence the possible economic development. Change in citizens' preferences for different types of services can also influence development, as well as changes in ideological preference among citizens and decision makers. We are also witnessing a constant change in innovation and new technologies, and, the implication being that they will have an impact on the way the welfare state work, cf. for example, new welfare technologies. At the same time the development in the level of population and its composition can better be predicted.

Those who will be old in the coming 30 40 years have, for example, already been borne. Unless we see strong changes in the level of death and fertility-rate and/or migration, we know how the composition of the age structure will be in the different countries. In Europe, as in Japan, for most countries we will, assumed that the life-expectancy seems still to increase and that the fertility level is rather low, be witnessing an ageing population and with the present age of retirement see more people leaving the labour market than entering the labour market. In the EU the expectation is that the dependency ratio will more than double between 2010 and 2060 to a level over fifty. That fewer young people will enter the labour market could in principle reduce the present high level of unemployment, but will at the same time imply a high risk of bottlenecks at part of the labour market, and thereby increasing problems for the society's economic development. Naturally, new diseases might reduce the pressure, but at the same time new types of cures can increase the life-expectancy.

Although the life-expectancy increases, this does not necessarily imply a proportional increase in public sector spending. The growth in spending will presumably be

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3) This short article is a summary of a Lecture given at Rikkyo University on the 1st of June, 2012



Table 1. Old Age Dependency Ratio 2000 2050 for selected EU-countries

	2000	2010	2050		2000	2010	2050
Belgium	25.5	26.7	45	Netherlands	20	22.3	40.5
Denmark	22.2	24.6	38	Finland	22.2	24.9	44.5
Germany	23.9	30.3	49	Sweden	26.9	28.1	42.5
Spain	25.6	29.2	60	United Kingdom	23.9	24.2	42
France	16.8	17.3	46	EU 15	24.3	27.3	49
Italy	26.6	31.3	61				

the ratio of 65 and over to 15 64.

reduced due to that not only do we live longer; we will also have a longer life where we do not need treatment at hospitals or by care.

The changes in the age composition also imply with present structure of the welfare states a pressure in upward direction in most countries in relation to public sector expenditure on pensions and health care. In the EU 15, e.g. the old EU-member states with the most developed pension system, for example, there is an expectation of an increase in pension expenditures alone with more than 3% points of GDP. The higher level of pension expenditures in the future might thereby also imply a pressure on other parts of the welfare state, also given that when fewer people are on the labour market there will be a risk of reduction in public sector income through taxes and duties.

Table 2. Public Pension Expenditures before taxes as a % of GDP

	2000	2010	2050	Peak change		2000	2010	2050	Peak change
Belgium	10	9.9	13.3	3.7	Netherlands	7.9	9.1	13.6	6.2
Denmark	10.5	12.5	13.3	4.1	Finland	11.3	11.6	15.9	4.7
Germany	11.8	11.2	16.9	5.0	Sweden	9	9.6	10.7	2.6
Spain	9.4	8.9	17.3	7.9	UK	5.5	5.1	4.4	1.1
France	12.1	13.1	14.1	4.0	EU 15	10.4	10.4	13.3	3.2
Italy	13.8	13.9	14.1	2.1					

This also helps in explaining why there has been different and diverse reforms with regard especially to the pension system in many EU-countries, often moving from a PAYG (Pay-As-You-Go) pension system towards a system with more emphasis on funding, and, also pension system where individual savings or labour market contributions plays an increasing role. The changes has furthermore implied a change

away from the calculation based different kind of reliance on income when retiring to be actuarial calculated based upon the savings over the years on the labour market. For those who for different reasons not have been on the labour market a basic pension still prevails.

The impact of these changes has been that the level of income during pension age to a larger degree than before depends on the number of years on the labour market and income during the working life.

Change in the pension system is thus one issue as a result of the demographic changes. Another issue is the size of the labour force, where the decline can imply a pressure on the labour market. This also helps in explaining why there has and still is discussion in Europe on how and what types of policies will help in making people stay longer on the labour market. This is in order to increase the present average age of retirement around 62-63 years of age. This could, for example, include change in public pension by first being able at a later age than today to receive pension and an ability to have a more flexible retirement (e.g. more part-time work for older workers).

However, another option is that the countries in the EU will be more open for migration also from countries outside the EU. A higher level of migration especially if relatively young and with an education needed will imply a positive impact on the European economic development. If migration can cover areas with lack of manpower this should in principle help the demographic transition without having the possible negative impact on welfare state spending. Migration has been going on in Europe for a long time, and although there is and has been problem with integration both in society and at the labour market, increased migration is in principle one way to cope with the rapid ageing society in Europe, including the increase in persons to take care of elderly people.

Another way to increase labour supply will in many European countries be to have even more women on the labour market than today (in the Nordic countries the participation rate for men and women are almost the same), and, also have many of those working part-time to work closer to or at the level of full-time. This combined with more gradual and/or later retirement from the labour market can help alleviate the expected problem with lack of manpower. For the time being the high level of unemployment makes it difficult to change towards that people will work longer and retire later, as there is abundance of labour available. The implication is that a highly

educated and updated labour force and reduction in the level of unemployment also will be a possible option.

Lack of manpower to deliver core social care services might thus be a central problem related to the demographic changes in the coming years.

Whereas the demographic changes can have and be difficult to cope with on the labour market, there is no clear indication of that the changes are lack of economic resources. If the economies continue to grow as they have done historically, there will economic space to deal with economic issues, and, in this way the problem has more to do with distribution of resources, than availability of resources. It might be a continuation at a lower level of growth than earlier, but so far, it seems that each generation on average has been richer than the generation before.

Use of welfare technology might also be a way of at the same time ensuring elderly a better life, and, reduce pressure on the welfare state, and especially the risk of lack of manpower. New welfare technologies can imply that people can live longer in their own home, but also reduce the pressure on the welfare states. Welfare technology might not only in the area of social care, but also in relation to health care and treatment imply new options and possibilities implying a even more de-central type of welfare state than earlier.

With new technologies part of the service might be seen as having to be more market based, e.g. people will themselves buy, for example, robot-cleaners, tablets for communication and training etc. This is in line with ongoing transformation of the borderlines between state, market and civil society in Europe.

The changes around in Europe in recent years is an indication of the changes in the wake of the financial crisis, but also a result of the pressure on the welfare state as part of the economic pressure on the welfare states. Still, despite this there seems to be room for variety and distinctness of welfare models in Europe. The Nordic welfare states do also seem to be prepared to cope with the challenges, although it is not an easy task.