



# "Reforming a Welfare State How Germany is coping with Globalisation"

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# Introduction

# From the "Sick man of Europe" to the "New German Miracle" Germany as a role model for other countries?

What kind of social market economy is successful and sustainable?

# Yes, economic model is currently relatively successful

- Growth among highest in industrialised countries until recently
- ▶ Highest employment level since re-unification (71% up from 64% in mid 90s)
- ▶ Unemployment down from 5 to under 3 million (below former last recession)
- Government deficit only 1 % in 2011

# Yes, success is mainly a result of former reforms

# **But: Beware of arrogance**

- ▶ Many other reform examples: US, UK, NL, DK, S, ...
- ▶ D learnt esp. from flexicurity of northern continental EU countries (with strong welfare systems)
- ▶ Pathological learning: Reform effort only after crisis
- ▶ To-do list still open, e.g. services liberalisation, skill shortage (OECD)



# From the "Sick man of Europe" to the "New German Miracle"

### Starting point - after burst of dotcom bubble in 2000

- Growth stagnation and rocketing unemployment: "Sick man of Europe"
- ▶ Economic burden of re-unification and lack of reforms in 1990s
- ▶ Challenges of globalisation in a rapidly internationalising economy
- Demographic challenges

## Main gist of reforms and principles

- ▶ Focus on supply side and strengthen market forces to increase growth and employment
- Revive the Milk Cow
- Social is what creates employment



# From the "Sick man of Europe" to the "New German Miracle"

## Reform aims (to be enlarged upon in the following)

- Strengthen growth drivers
- Labour market reforms to bring down employment threshold of growth
  - Increase lever that transmits growth into employment
  - ▶ Make economy more flexible to meet globalisation challenges

### Reduce government debts

and burden on future generations



# **Strengthen Growth Drivers and Market Forces**

#### Investment

• e.g. via lowering corporate taxation and bureaucracy costs

# **Employment**

reforms of labour market and wage policy making

# **Productivity**

corporate restructuring

#### **Innovation**

▶ increase R&D spending, also in corporations

#### **Education**

many reforms following PISA shock

# Competition

reduce product market regulations (e.g. crafts)



# Labour market reforms

Main gist: Make labour cheaper, more flexible, reduce entry barriers, provide greater incentives to work and improve job agencies

Make labour cheaper – lower relative labour/capital price

- ▶ Wage moderation and working time increase (co-operation from trade unions)
- Lowering of non-wage cost
- Opening up of low wage sector integrate low-skilled workers

#### Make labour costs and labour use more flexible

- ▶ Firm-level opening-clauses for wage-agreements
- ▶ Increase of working time flexibility (Overtime / working time accounts)

Lower entry barriers into labour market (insider-outsider-view)

- Liberalisation of temporary work agencies and fixed-term contracts
- Lowering job protection (firms up to 10 employees (formerly 5) exempted)

Increase incentives for unemployed to take on new jobs



# Reduction of government indebtedness

## Expenditure cuts: from nearly 49 % in 2003 to 43.5 % of GDP in 2007

▶ E.g. Subsidy cuts (Rathenau: "Business complaints about the fierceness of competition are often only a complaints about the lack of ideas.")

# Reform of social system to make it sustainable and to lower labour costs

- Unemployment insurance reform and deep cuts to contributions
- ▶ Pension insurance reform (extend pension age 67, adjust pension level for life expectancy, ratio of employed/pensioners)

# Shift tax burden from income to consumption

▶ Tax increases, e.g. VAT, but lower income taxation before

## After crisis: Balanced budget rule (structural deficit, corrective mechanism)

Rule against policy failure: Frederic Bastiat: "The public household is a household where everyone wants to eat but noboby wants to do the dishes"



# What can be learnt from various reform examples?

- How to make social market economy sustainable?
  - "Social" is what creates employment (Roman Herzog)
- ▶ Pay-off of supply-side reforms takes time to materialize
  - ▶ Meantime: Schröder-Government broke down under reform burden
- Reforms have to change expectations and regain credibility
  - ▶ decisive, encompassing (not piecemeal), reliable
  - ▶ Following governments should continue
    - ▶ Merkel-Governments have continued reforms although at slower pace
    - ▶ Some reversals to counter public reform resentment + improve social cohesion
    - ▶ E.g. minimum wages, tax increase on rich, exc.pension incr.. unempl.duration re-increased >57years
- Lower relative price of labour (wage moderation, opt-outs, social and tax system)
  - Strive for co-operative industrial relations
- Commit to medium term consolidation (Balanced budget rule)
- Vocational education against youth unemployment
- ▶ Use crisis pressure to break resistance from vested interests

# Crisis is also an opportunity!





# Thank you for your kind attention!

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# How did Germany manage the post 2008 crisis?

After Lehman collapse: massive decline in confidence and demand Particularly world trade and exports declined

Germany as a very open economy particularly exposed

Imminent danger: shedding profitable jobs and firms with destructive long term effects

- Qualification loss of unemployed
- Break down of supply chains (esp. automobiles)

Policy reaction: Building a bridge of valley of low demand

▶ Subsidies: Car scrappage premium, short time working subsidies

Co-operative and flexible industrial relations (wage policy)

- ▶ Trade unions co-operated with wage moderation
- Firms co-operated by hoarding labour and providing job security
- Short time working schemes and working time flexibility to avoid firing