





## The Economy Report, May 2020

ON SWEDISH
MUNICIPAL AND REGIONAL FINANCES



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#### **Foreword**

The Economy Report illustrates the financial situation and conditions of regions and municipalities and the development of the Swedish economy over the next few years. It is published twice yearly by the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR). The calculations in this issue were concluded on 23 April. However, some updates have been made after that point; for instance, the government support of SEK 39 billion to businesses has been taken into account.

In the space of only a few months the COVID-19 pandemic has had world-wide effects on health, living conditions, education and the economy.

There is great uncertainty about future developments, and it will take a long time to form a picture of the final effects of the pandemic. In a situation like this, trying to make assessments of local government finances is a challenge, to say the least. The horizon for our calculations therefore only extends to 2021 this time, but we estimate a tax base forecast up until 2023.

Nor is it easy to assess the present situation. The statistics currently available are far from comprehensive, and they can, at the same time, be hard to interpret. This special situation also means that it is difficult for municipalities and regions to make assessments of their finances. It is, however, clear that the Swedish economy will shrink this year, resulting in a decrease, in real terms, in the tax base. The effects on municipal and regional services are considerable and impact on both costs and revenue.

The increase in general government grants this year is at a historical level, and the Government has also promised compensation for certain additional costs on account of the pandemic. This additional funding is welcome and essential. Nevertheless, many regions are expected to show large deficits this year.

The COVID-19 crisis is the core theme of this issue of the *Economy Report*. We try, in the first place, to give a picture of how the local government sector and its finances have been affected so far, along with an assessment of the near future based on a relatively positive scenario. However, uncertainty is, when it comes to the future, the key word.

On our website skr.se you can find a selection of supporting information from our reports on the Sector in figures page. Presentations containing charts of costs and revenue are available for download.

This is an abridged version of the report. It has been written by staff at the SALAR Section for Economic Analysis and has not been considered at political level within the Association. The persons who can reply to questions are given on the inside cover page. Other SALAR staff have also contributed facts and valuable comments. The translation is by Ian MacArthur, following slight revisions by Elisabet Jonsson and Nils Mårtensson. We are very grateful to the municipalities and regions that have contributed basic data to our report.

Stockholm, May 2020

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## **Summary conclusions**

Municipalities and regions entered 2020 in the expectation of a year of strained finances due to a weakening of the economy in combination with high demographic pressure. At that time, no one could have foreseen the present COVID-19 pandemic, which has had a major impact both on their services and on their economic situation. In record time, municipal and regional activities have had to transform how they deliver welfare services. Not since World War II have welfare services been affected at such a rapid rate as they have this spring.

#### **Uncertainty everywhere**

At the moment the global economy is experiencing a rapid decline in production and employment on account of the COVID-19 pandemic. The Swedish economy, which already weakened in 2019, is now being hit both by declining domestic demand and by falling exports.

In the present situation all economic assessments are extremely uncertain; this is apparent, not least, from the great variations in GDP forecasts made by different analysts. SALAR chooses, like most other analysts, to make an estimate instead of its usual forecast. Our calculation is based on a relatively positive scenario in which the spread of the infection in Sweden is assumed to culminate in the middle of the summer and to then slow down towards the end of the summer. The scenario description we use is an assumption for our economic calculations and not a medical or epidemiological assessment of the situation.

Our calculation is based on no further restrictions being introduced and on those now in place remaining at the same level for a period and then being phased out towards the end of the summer. We assume that health care needs continue to be elevated but that the number of people receiving care for COVID-19 decreases towards the end of the summer and that the infection spreads more slowly because advice about hygiene and social distancing is followed. The scenario is also based on the infection not spreading in a second wave as an effect of too rapid a phasing out of restrictions or because the virus mutates. Based on these assumptions, SALAR's scenario can be seen as a best possible outcome. There is, however, great uncertainty and developments may very well be worse.

#### Payroll decreases, everything slides and the recovery takes a long time

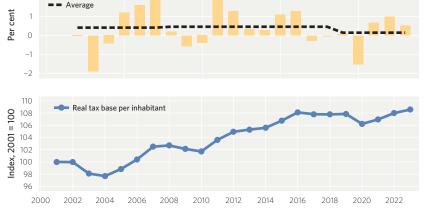
In 2019 the Swedish labour market was already characterised by a weaker economic situation with a decrease in the number of hours worked, which is the foundation of the municipal and regional tax base. In 2020 we assume that the number of hours worked falls by more than 3 per cent and that unemployment increases by 2 percentage points to just under 9 per cent; we also assumed it will stay at that level in 2021.

Even though we start from a relatively positive scenario, the recession lingers on and it takes until 2023 for the labour market to return to balance. To achieve this, however, both GDP and employment have to rise relatively rapidly.

The decrease in employment means that aggregate wages paid in Sweden are lower in 2020 than in 2019, a year-on-year fall not seen since the crisis in the 1990s. The effect is that the tax base increases extremely slowly in 2020, by 0.9 per cent (1.3 per cent excluding changes to regulations), which can be compared with 2009, during the financial crisis, when the tax base increased by 1.2 per cent (1.7 per cent excluding changes to regulations). The increases in the tax base has to cover the costs both of higher prices and wages and of a growing population with greater needs of welfare services. The slow tax base growth entails a real erosion of tax revenue per inhabitant.



Figure 1 • Real tax base per inhabitant Index, 2001 = 100 and per cent



Source: Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions

Even if average tax revenue increases by more than 3.5 per cent in the coming years up until 2023, the aggregate increase in the real tax base per inhabitant will be very modest for the five-year period 2019-2023.

> To counter the crisis, central government presented crisis packages that had, up until 8 May, an estimated impact on the central government budget of

around SEK 185 billion. Along with other effects of the crisis, this means that central government net lending will be negative for several years. Central government debt will pass the range in the fiscal policy framework of a general government consolidated gross debt of 35 per cent of GDP  $\pm$  5 percentage points. At the same time, Sweden still has a low debt from an international perspective.

#### Long-term effects

It will be a long time before we see the full impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic. The Public Health Agency of Sweden points out that we will only be able to see the full public health impacts of the pandemic in 4–5 years. In particular, it may take a long time for a vaccine that provides sufficient protection to appear. COVID-19 must therefore be assumed to be something that will affect our society for a long time.

Municipalities and regions will need to further strengthen their preparedness and ability to collaborate in order to cope with any new waves of infection. Research efforts to ensure the development of vaccines for and treatment of COVID-19 are globally important initiatives.

How the spread of the infection will continue to develop is very uncertain. It is important to have preparedness for other scenarios, especially those that would lead to a greater impact on society. What would be the consequences of a deeper and more protracted sequence of events? In that case, what measures should we already be taking now?

In global terms, there could also be very great changes, partly as a result of a new view of vulnerability and how to manage it. More protectionism can impair the conditions for global growth. Some take the view that there is now a greater chance of implementing desirable changes, such as investments in the climate, in the transition to a more sustainable lifestyle and in health promotion and preventive measures. Public institutions may also get larger; small businesses may be wiped out on a large scale while some companies survive and become more dominant; digital ways of working and solutions may become more widespread. The economic consequences also risk having impacts on public health in both the short and the long term. The health gap we already have may widen even more between different socio-economic groups, affecting the conditions for providing services in municipalities and regions. Global welfare gaps may increase both between and within countries, resulting in greater social tensions.

Major crises come seldom, but their consequences are all the greater. And, in the intervening periods, we have a tendency to forget – even though, in the long term, it is perhaps the major events that shape our society.

## The local government sector is acting at the centre of the pandemic

In a short space of time the COVID-19 virus has changed the conditions for the whole of society, and especially for health care and social care. So far, the focus has been wholly on crisis management. This requires rapid action at all levels, changes in governance and collaboration, the development of new solutions, etc. The acute crisis is not over. New things are happening constantly, at the same time as the need for acute care of patients with COVID-19 remains great. For example, as more people recover, a strong increase in rehabilitation provision is required. Even though we are still in the midst of it,

there can nevertheless be reason to already ask, at this moment, what lessons we can draw from the acute crisis for the future.

The municipalities and regions have been very strongly affected by the pandemic. They have also acted speedily and vigorously to contain the infection and to meet the health care needs among patients with COVID-19. The regions are collaborating in areas including procurement of intensive care medicines, personal protective equipment and intensive care material as well as the coordination of ICU beds. Health care has succeeded in a very short space of time in more than doubling the number of ICU beds , an unparalleled transition. The four largest municipalities have joined together to provide a guarantee for a credit of SEK 500 million that has been issued by Kommuninvest to SKL Kommentus. This credit is to be used for purchases of personal protective equipment for all Swedish municipalities, and the equipment will be distributed on the basis of the needs compiled by the county administration boards in their coordination commission.

Upper secondary schools have transitioned rapidly to digital tuition. Health care offered digitally has increased strongly, as have home monitoring, physical home visits and participation by doctors in municipal health and social care.

## The interaction between central government and the municipalities and regions in the light of the COVID-19 pandemic

SALAR has long pointed to the need to change central government governance and central government collaboration with municipalities and regions to cope with future challenges – which will also remain after the crisis.

The COVID-19 situation requires extraordinary, rapid and flexible action in municipalities and regions. It may be difficult to deliver many services in the regular way, according to the applicable laws and regulations. In some cases the regulations need to be changed; in others, the interpretation and application of the regulations may need to be adapted to the situation. The COVID-19 virus has also meant that some services suddenly both must and can be performed in new ways.

The Government has rapidly presented a large number of packages along with the Centre Party and the Liberal Party. In some cases, certain government agencies have been given commissions to align or coordinate health care, equipment or other matters. But carrying out commissions steered »top-down«is not unproblematic. It is the municipalities and regions that are responsible for the operational activities and the service-centred skills. To maintain the tempo of work at local or regional level, these agencies must interact closely with these levels. Coordination is all very well, but it must start from municipal and regional needs.

Regions and municipalities have clearly shown that national coordination does not require governance by central government but can be achieved through joint action that can be exemplified by the purchasing and reallocation cooperation put in place by the regions in the area of medicinal products.

#### The changes require rapid adaptation and collaboration

The COVID-19 crisis has shown that there is great power and capacity for adaptation and collaboration in the local government sector. It has also shown that it is actually possible to make rapid changes to regulations and conditions through dialogue and close cooperation between the sector and central government.

There are, however, areas for development, both for central government and for municipalities and regions, so as to create the best possible conditions for managing the problems in a society in crisis. It is, for example, extremely important that different government agencies have a totally unambiguous message for action at regional and local level. The role of the different parties concerning, for instance, responsibility for preparedness and procurement must also be respected and dealt with.

#### **Lessons now and in the future?**

Several examples already indicate that central government and the sector are capable of being more solution-focused together and can act jointly to respond to a difficult situation. Doing so enables all the knowledge and skills possessed by different actors to be put to better use and lead to better decisions. Achieving this requires a pragmatic approach in which the relevant actors are included at an early stage in the processes where the solutions take shape.

Both the present crisis, and the previous refugee crisis, have demonstrated the great advantages of being able to set priorities at local level – and of having flexibility in the use of resources and staff through, for example, shifts between different services when required.

In the crisis in the 1990s health care was totally transformed, resulting in a move to out-patient care and a halving of the number of hospital beds. The pandemic has also shown that services can be provided in completely different ways from before. One example is the rapid increase in the scale of use of digital channels in both health care and schools, which shows that the conditions for the continued development of digital forms of working are good.

#### Substantial fall in regional finances

In recent years more than a third of Sweden's regions have reported deficits. The weakening of the economy that started last year led four regions to increase their tax rate ahead of 2020, and many regions entered 2020 with a target for savings.

Since then the finances of the regions have been affected very negatively by the effects of the COVID-19 virus. In addition to a substantial downward revision of their tax base, the regions have also had considerable additional costs for health care. The regions have taken a large number of measures such as acquiring personal protective equipment and medicinal products and have more than doubled the number of ICU beds. The regions also have substantial revenue losses in public transport and dental care. On top of that, the value of their financial investments is decreasing. A further effect of the pandemic is that many action programmes adopted to make longer-term efficiencies in services have now been paused.

An extensive transition to digital care has also been part of the adaptation made to contain the infection. The proportion of health care contacts with digital health care providers, known as »out-of-county« contacts, has also increased substantially in the spring. Above all, however, use of the regions' own digital services has increased almost tenfold in the initial months of 2020.

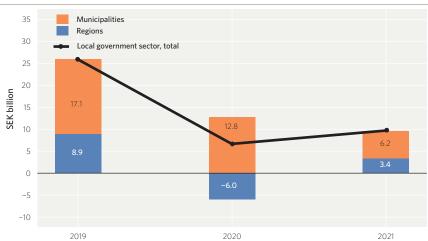
Staff provision is also under severe strain. Several regions have entered reinforcement situations, and in Region Stockholm the collective agreement for crisis situations has been activated in intensive care.

Given all this, it is currently difficult to obtain a full picture of how high the costs for health care will end up being this year. The regions are not only

faced with handling the cost increases in the acute crisis; the additional costs in coming years are even more difficult to get a handle on. Central government has promised to reimburse reasonable additional costs for health care, and in the Economy Report we assume that this will be happen. Central government is also meeting the costs of the first 14 days of sickness absence in a four-month period. Over and above this, there are no promises to cover other specific additional costs for services in municipalities and regions due to the COVID-19 virus. Despite the large increase in general government grants given by central government to municipalities and regions, we assume an aggregate deficit of SEK 6 billion in the regions for 2020. This is mainly due to lower revenue in public transport and dental care and to lower values of financial investments. In 2021 measures worth SEK 4.7 billion will be required to achieve net income of I per cent of taxes and government grants provided that costs only rise in line with population change. This will be a major challenge for the regions since a health care debt is now being built up on account of operations cancelled, checks not made of patients with chronic diseases, less preventive health care and dental care, a greater risk of mental ill health and increased risks for patients who, owing to fear of infection, do not seek health care despite clear symptoms of disease. These groups in the population now risk poorer development of their health. It is not yet possible to get a full picture of the scale of this health care debt, but the regions are working proactively to minimise the long term impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on health care.

Figure 2 • Net income in municipalities and regions with increased government grants/measures taken

SEK billion



Source: Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions.

#### **Uncertain impacts on municipalities**

In 2019 net income after financial items in the municipalities was SEK 17.1 billion, which is almost SEK 3 billion more than in the preceding year. At the same time, just under 70 municipalities reported deficits. One reason for the stronger net income is new accounting rules that require the recognition of unrealised financial gains. But it is also due to a decrease in costs at constant prices for the first time in 15 years, as a result of adaptation to coming financial strain.

It is still to early to give an overall picture of the economic impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on the municipalities. It is, however, evident that both

In 2020 the regions have an estimated deficit of SEK 6 billion and the municipalities an estimated surplus of SEK 13 billion, provided that central government reimburses all the additional costs resulting from handling the COVID-19 virus in health care and in the care of older people and people with disabilities. In 2021 we set net income in municipalities and regions at 1 per cent of taxes and government grants, corresponding to net income of SEK 9 billion. Based on this, we then make an assessment of the increase in government grants or other measures required to achieve this net income.

costs and revenue in services will be affected. Furthermore, it is still unclear whether central government will cover the municipalities' additional costs or service revenue shortfalls over and above what has been promised for health care and social care. At the same time, central government has decided to meet the costs of payments in the first 14 sickness days in a four-month period, which is a big saving involving billions of kronor for the municipalities.

The services affected most clearly by the COVID-19 virus are obviously elderly care and, to some extent, care of disabled people. High sickness absence has increased the need for staff, and great efforts have been required to cope with staffing. The municipalities have also had additional costs for re-purposing premises, a larger number of short-term beds and personal protective equipment.

In some areas the negative economic impacts are obvious and fairly direct. Municipal financial assistance (income support) will increase because unemployment is rising rapidly and many claimants will not be entitled to income-related unemployment benefit. SALAR's assessment is that income support payments will increase by between 15 and 20 per cent this year and by between a further 5 and 10 per cent next year. These payments would then be almost 30 per cent, or around SEK 3 billion, higher in 2021 than in 2018.

The ban on holding public gatherings and events for more than 50 participants also has a direct impact on municipal finances. Concerts, theatre performances and various sporting events are being cancelled, and ticket revenue is lost. In some municipalities revenue for these activities have been more than halved recently, corresponding to a revenue shortfall of around SEK 200 million per month nationally.

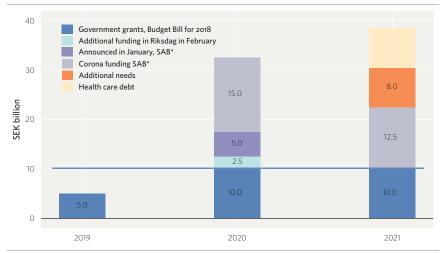
In general, studies and previous experience show that crises in society lead to greater social unease. More people lose their jobs, and economic stress also tends to increase other social problems. In the same way as people speak about a care debt being built up in health care, we can fear something similar in several parts of the social services.

SALAR expects the municipalities' surplus for 2020 to turn out to be SEK 13 billion, provided that central government covers the additional costs of handling the COVID-19 pandemic in health and social care. Despite this relatively strong aggregate net income, many municipalities will still show a deficit this year. Next year measures or increased government grants worth SEK 3.2 billion will be required to enable the municipalities to achieve net income of I per cent as a share of taxes and government grants. This presupposes that costs increase in pace with the population, which may be difficult in view of the risk for greater social needs.

To explain the spread of infection in elderly care, some have claimed that major savings have been made in this service over a long period. As a comparison, they have said that the costs of elderly care now account for a smaller share of municipal budgets than a number of years ago. However, in recent years the number of children and young people has increased very rapidly, and this does not apply to the group aged 80 and above. Between 2000 and 2018 the cost per user in special housing increased by almost 24 per cent in constant prices. In ordinary housing the corresponding increase is 21 per cent. In aggregate, costs in elderly care have increased by 16 per cent in constant prices since 2000, which is roughly in line with demographic development, despite the improvement in health during the period.

The figure shows the increases made in government grants since 2018, including the increase in general funds for Local Health Care in 2019 and 2020. Above the blue line are all the general government grants added in 2020. For 2021 the calculations are based on a net income of 1 per cent of taxes and government grants, and cost increases in pace with demography. Then either government grants need to be increased by a further SEK 8 billion or municipalities and regions need to take measures on a corresponding scale. The  $\mbox{\sc debt}$ accumulated in health and social care and social services is in addition to this. How big it will be is extremely uncertain at present.

Figure 3 • Increased government grants and needs for measures in municipalities and regions SEK billion



\*SAB = Spring Amending Budget 2020.

Source: Ministry of Finance and the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions.

This all this means that municipalities and regions are now facing greater economic challenges than could previously have been foreseen. Sweden has entered a recession at the same time as both unemployment and welfare service needs are increasing.

To ensure welfare provision paired with continued good net income in local government, the following are the main measures that need to be taken:

- Central government has promised to fully cover the costs to health care due to the COVID-19 pandemic. This must also be guaranteed in writing in a new government ordinance.
- The deficits in public transport corresponding to around SEK 1 billion per month with present recommendations should be financed.
- To avoid municipalities and regions making savings that risk further deepening the recession ahead of 2021, general government grants should be increased by a further SEK 8 billion, and additional extra funding is also needed to deal with the health care debt.
- One way of supporting both the business sector and the local government sector may be investment support.
- Ease the situation in local government by paying targeted government grants more in general grants, as proposed formally by SALAR to central government and removing reporting and repayment requirements in agreements decided for 2020.
- Guarantee that local government companies with large revenue shortfalls are also able to use the short-term lay-off rules.
- Improve the functioning of the labour market by also offering holiday jobs outside municipalities, ensuring more places in vocational adult education, expanding study start funding, extending the introduction period for new arrivals and enabling people who have newly become unemployed to go direct to matching.

# ANNEX

This annex presents some key indicators and the overall income statements of municipalities and of regions, as well as an aggregate income statement for the sector to give an overall picture.

For diagrams showing the distribution of costs and revenue for municipalities and regions separately, tables presenting overviews of central government grants and other data that we used to present in the Annex to the Economy Report, we refer to our website, a page called Sektorn i siffror (The sector in figures). Go to www.skr.se, choose Ekonomi, juridik, statistik/Ekonomi/ Sektorn i siffror.

#### An aggregate picture of municipalities and regions

Table 16 • Key indicators for municipalities and regions

Per cent and thousands of people

	Outcome	Fore	cast	Estimate	
	2018	2019	2020	2021	
Average tax rate, %	32.12	32.19	32.28	32.28	
municipalities, incl. Gotland	20.74	20.70	20.72	20.72	
regions*, excl. Gotland	11.44	11.55	11.62	11.62	
	Outcome	Fore	cast	Estimate	
	2018	2019	2020	2021	
No of employees**, thousands	1,194	1,200	1,205	1,208	
Municipalities	898	898	896	898	
Regions	297	302	309	309	
Volume change, %	1.0	0.8	1.3	1.1	
Municipalities	0.3	-0,2	1.0	1.1	
Regions	2.5	3.2	2.0	1.1	

<sup>\*</sup>The tax base of Gotland is not included, which is why the totals do not add up.

Sources: Statistics Sweden and the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions.

 $<sup>\</sup>ensuremath{^{**}} \text{Average}$  number of people in employment according to the National Accounts.

Table 17 • Aggregate income statement for the sector SEK billion

	Outcome	For	ecast	Estimate
	2018	2019	2020	2021
Income of activities	227	228	231	237
Expenses of activities	-1,060	-1,090	-1,130	-1,163
Depreciation/amortisation	-35	-38	-40	-43
Net expenses of activities	-868	-901	-939	-969
Tax revenue	724	751	745	779
Gen. govt grants and equalisation	153	162	203	194
Net income of activities	9	13	9	5
Net financial income	6	13	-3	5
Net income after financial items	15	26	7	10
Share of taxes and grants, %	1.7	2.8	0.7	1.0

 $\it Note:$  Purchases between municipalities and regions have been consolidated.

Table 18 • Income statement for the municipalities SEK billion

	Outcome	Forecast		<b>Estimate</b>
	2018	2019	2020	2021
Income of activities	165	159	161	166
Expenses of activities	-697	-709	-734	-756
Depreciation/amortisation	-24	-26	-27	-29
Net expenses of activities	-557	-576	-600	-620
Tax revenue	467	483	478	500
Gen. govt grants and equalisation	96	101	129	121
Net income of activities	7	7	7	1
Net financial income	7	10	5	5
Net income after financial items	14	17	13	6
Share of taxes and grants, %	2.5	2.9	2.1	1.0

Table 19 • Income statement for the regions SEK billion

	Outcome	For	ecast	Estimate
	2018	2019	2020	2021
Income of activities	64	71	72	74
Expenses of activities	-365	-383	-398	-410
Depreciation/amortisation	-11	-12	-13	-14
Net expenses of activities	-312	-325	-339	-349
Tax revenue	257	269	267	279
Gen. govt grants and equalisation	57	61	74	74
Net income of activities	2	5	2	4
Net financial income	-1	4	-8	-1
Net income after financial items	0.5	8.9	-6.0	3.4
Share of taxes and grants, %	0.2	2.7	-1.8	1.0

Source: The Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions.



### The Economy Report, May 2020

#### On Swedish municipal and regional finances

There is great uncertainty about how the COVID-19 pandemic will develop. We base this *Economy Report* on a fairly positive scenario in which we assume that the pandemic will subside during the summer, and that our society can then start to return to a normal situation.

At the moment the world economy is experiencing an exceptionally rapid recession. Sharp falls are being seen in production, income and employment. For quarter 2 this year we assume a record fall in Swedish GDP, and it is now clear that the Swedish economy will shrink in 2020.

This has an extensive impact on local government services: extreme pressure and demands for transitioning in health care: the spread of infection in elderly care; a change-over to distance tuition in upper secondary school; higher pressure on social services and municipal income support; cancellations of sporting and cultural events; reductions in public transport and so on. Staff are being pressed by an increased workload, sickness absences, high uncertainty and demands for transitioning.

However, it is difficult to give a full picture of the economic impacts. The increase in general government grants this year is at a historical level, and central government has also promised compensation for certain additional costs due to the pandemic. This additional funding is welcome and essential to respond to tax bases decreasing in real terms and to increased costs for services. Municipalities and regions are also experiencing large income shortfalls. Sharply falling public transport revenue risks leading to substantial deficits for regions this year. The regions also see a growing care debt that arises when planned health care is postponed.

But we have not yet seen the end of this pandemic. It may perhaps turn out slightly better than in our scenario, but there is also a risk that it will be worse, or much worse.

*The Economy Report* is a series published twice yearly by the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR). In it we deal with the present economic situation and developments in municipalities and regions. The calculations in this issue extend to 2023.

The report can be downloaded from the website of Sveriges Kommuner och Regioner: www.skr.se. Choose English pages and then Publications.

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