

# Observations on Japan's Pension Reforms of 2004



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# How was the policy problem presented?

→ Current and projected growing cashflow shortfall in the national pension system

- Revenue from contributions not rising fast enough  
(due to low fertility, low earnings growth)

*versus*

- Rapidly rising benefit payments to pensioners  
(due to high benefits, early retirement, and more elderly due to baby boom and longer lifetimes)

→ Projections suggested need to raise taxes/contributions or cut benefits (or both)



# How was the problem framed? (as of 2004)

## → What was the size of the problem?

*Cashflow focus:* To keep couples' replacement rate constant,

- EP contribution rate would have to rise from 13.58% to 25.9%
- NP contribution would have to rise from ¥13,300/mo to ¥29,500/mo
- More general govt revenue too (unclear exactly how much and over what time period?)

## → Timing of the problem?

Different writers vary: some take 5-year, some 95-year perspective; few look at infinite horizon

# What was the policy response? (as of 2004)

## Boost Revenue:

- ✓ Boost EE/ER contributions
  - EPS contrib. up from 13.58% → 18.30%, over 12 years (by 2017)
- ✓ Boost govt subsidy “from 1/3 to 1/2” by 2009
  - Can express as % of GDP or payroll?
- ✓ Require Pension Reserves pay 2.2% real pa

## Cut Benefit Growth Rate and Levels:

- ✓ Immediately & in future with “macroeconomic” indexing
  - Seek to keep ‘stylized’ married couple replacement rate ~50%

# Issues to raise

- Aggregate assumptions: Need more sensitivity analysis
  - What if wage growth and TFR too high?
  - Is real return sustainable? What if dips and stays low for some time?
  - Choice of discount rate? (maybe too high?)
- Projections:
  - Time horizon for measurement
  - Why not stochastic simulation?
  - Need to be able to do distributional analysis (different lifetime earnings patterns)

## Other points:

- Where is the rest of the govt subsidy coming from?
  - What's economic responsiveness to:
    - Reduced benefits
    - Higher payroll and other taxes
    - Declining workforce/aging population
- Labor force/retirement response?
- Evasion?

# Key Accounting Concern:

- Many government budgets do not report all relevant liabilities:
  - Traditional public goods (e.g. “bricks and mortar”) can be enumerated and accounted for;
  - But governments increasingly have long-term liabilities (e.g., Social Security, national health obligations, etc.);
  - And these tend not to be recognized as government obligations.
- ➔ Thus ‘official’ public debt dramatically understates long-term pension (and health) liabilities

# *Example: “Official” US public debt dwarfed by long-term government liabilities*

US government’s true **Fiscal Imbalance** (FI):

→ Debt held by public, ~\$4.4 trillion

+

→ [PV of all future outlays – PV of all future revenue]



~ \$63 trillion\*

*\*Includes projected Social Security and Medicare payments in excess of dedicated revenue streams*



# US Assumptions:

- ✓ **Real annual discount rate:**  $r = 3.6\%$  (with sensitivity analysis)
- ✓ **Real annual per-capita productivity:**  $g = 1.7\%$  (with sensitivity analysis)
- ✓ **Real growth of health care costs in excess of productivity to 2080:**  $h = 1.0\%^*$ 
  - 2080–2100: excess growth reduced linearly to 0
  - 2100+: 0 excess growth
- ✓ **Open system liabilities** (infinite horizon now adopted by Trustees at SSA)
  - *Rationale:* Nation plans to be around in perpetuity

\* VERY conservative: 1980–2001 actual diff = 2.3%; double-digit growth this year expected to continue

# Should Govts report these liabilities?

## →NO:

- Govt promises are only implicit, unlike explicit debt
- Govt promises can be changed at any time
- Govt promises are not guaranteed

## →YES, but limit to computations to finite horizon

- Nobody knows the future
- Assumptions too variable

## →YES:

- These are obligations like public debt
- US Social Security administration now adopting this for SS and Medicare
- Of course, with sensitivity analysis

## Why stop with SS and Medicare?

- Sen. Lieberman devising a law to implement for all government programs

# Can US Deal with the \$63 Trillion? Options include...

- Boost federal income taxes by 68% *immediately* and *forever*
  - Assumes no labor supply or saving reductions, and that money is saved and invested prudently
- Boost payroll tax from 15.3% to >32%
  - And remove tax ceiling but don't credit benefits
- Confiscate all physical capital assets in the U.S.
  - Though is insufficient!
- Slash Social Security and Medicare promises by more than half

# Other comments on Japan's methodology

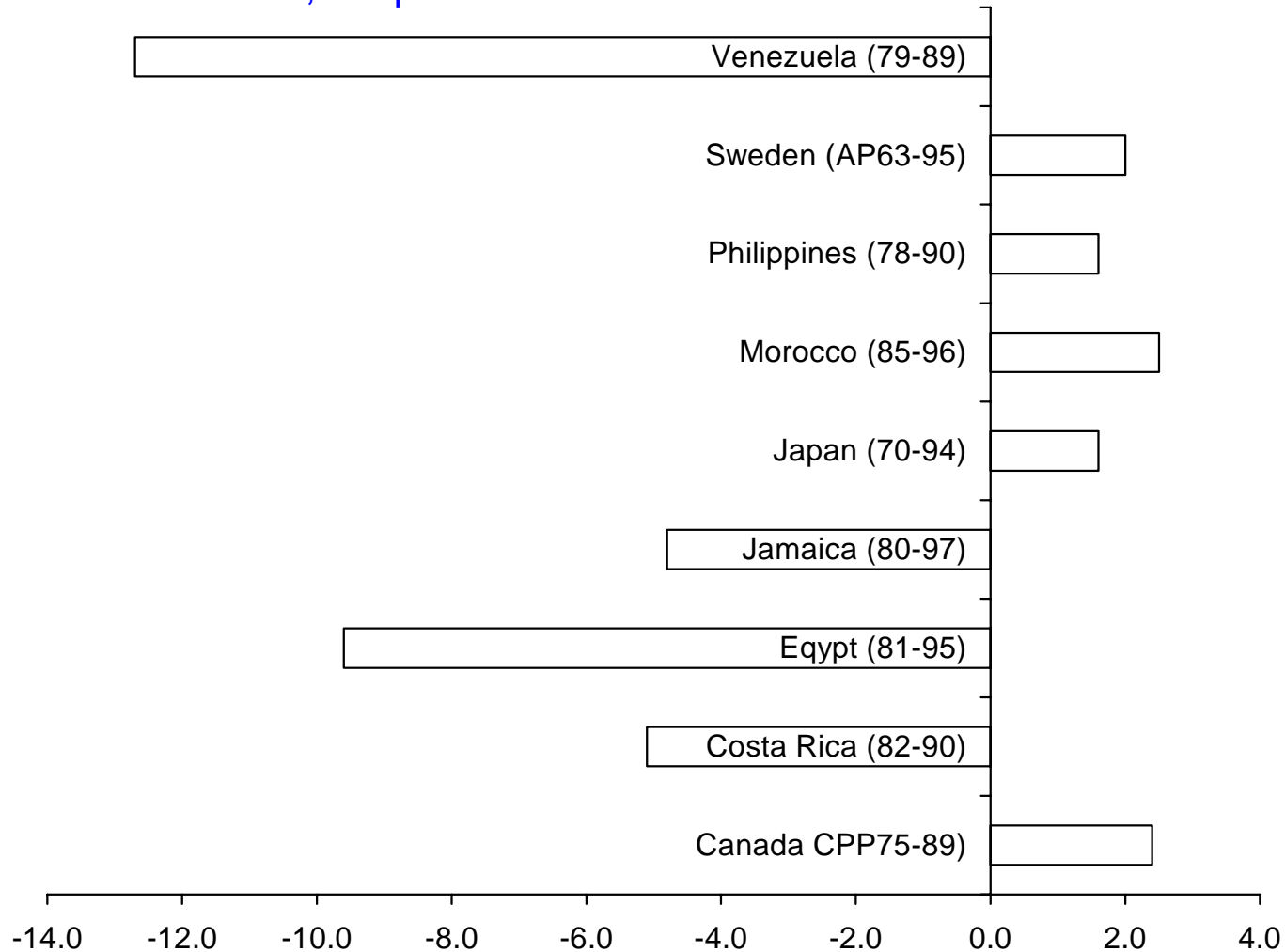
- Applaud Japan's step forward to solving this important and long-term problem (better than the US!)
- Also support computing public pension debt in perpetuity
- Why call adjustment a “macroeconomic” indexation?
  - Focuses on demographic factors
  - Not on economic factors

# Need to start now on longer term solution

- If this will work over a 20 year time horizon
  - what takes its place?
    - Capital markets want to know
    - And so do retirees and workers!
- What is to be done, when the adjustment mechanism proves inadequate?
- What to do when healthcare system runs out of money???

# Beware...funding does not guarantee good investment performance!

Annual real returns, DB plans



# What might the future hold?

More resistance to tax hikes;

More resistance to benefit cuts;

More debate over the Reserve Fund

(how quickly to draw down, how to invest);



More debate over investments:

- ✓ International diversification?
- ✓ New types of assets?
- ✓ Socially responsible investments?

More demands for transparency and simplicity.

# Thank you!

*For more information:*

- Wharton's Pension Research Council:

<http://prc.wharton.upenn.edu/prc/prc.html>

- Books and working papers:

<http://rider.wharton.upenn.edu/~prc/publication.html>