



The Impact of Global Aging on Saving, Investment, Asset Prices, and Returns

for the Q Group – The Institute for Quantitative Research in Finance

Gary Burtless

The Brookings Institution

Washington, DC USA

October 18, 2005

Carlsbad, California

Population ageing is occurring in nearly all countries

- In rich countries, aged population obtains much of its income & consumption from government budgets
- Populations in both rich and poor countries are growing older
 - ◆ Falling mortality rates / Longer life expectancy
 - ◆ Declining fertility
 - ◆ Immigration is variable & uncertain

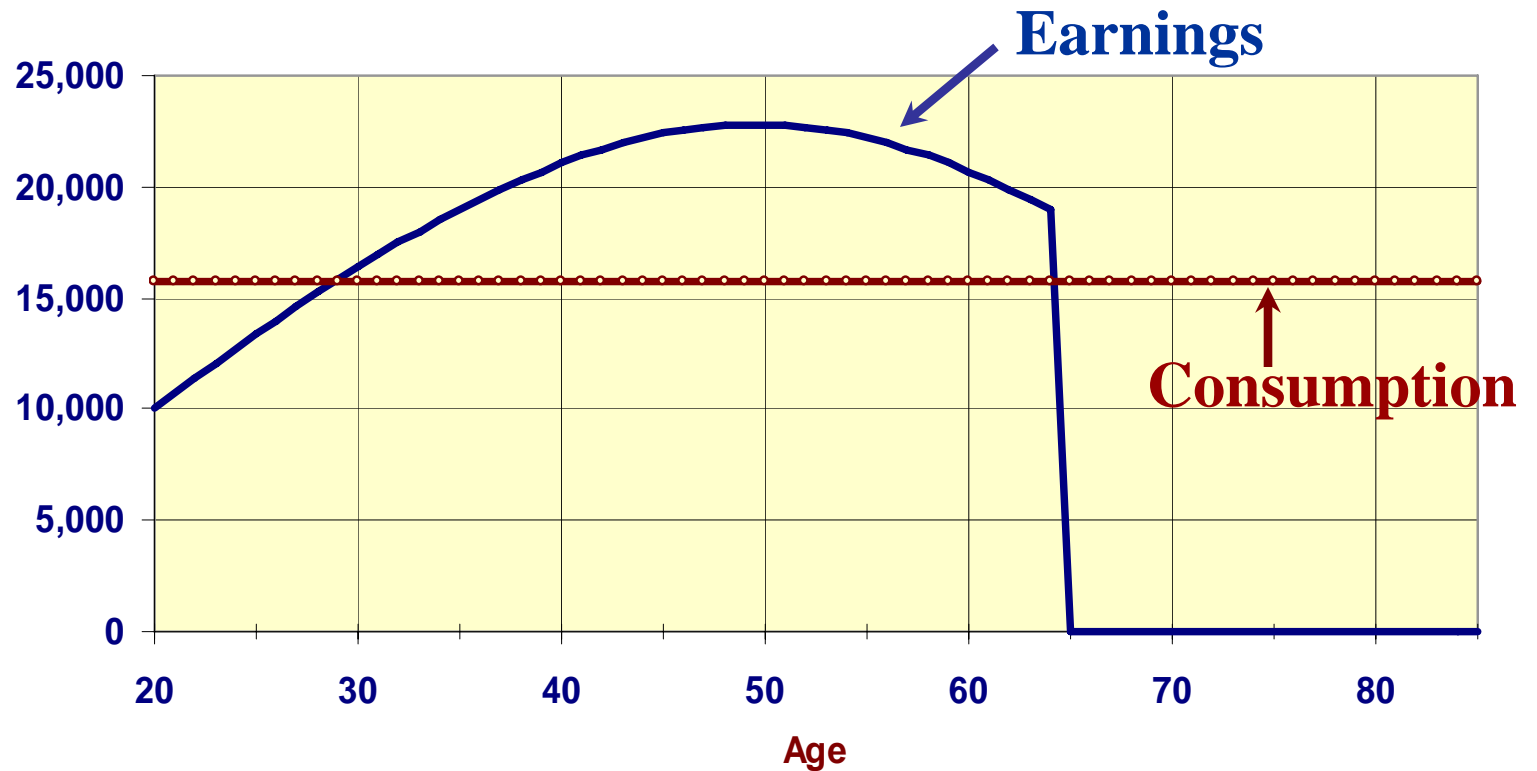


Impact of ageing on financial markets and the economy

- **Relative declines in rates of saving and investment**
 - Will aged societies be net lenders or net borrowers (current account balance)?
- **Implications for asset prices and returns**
- **Open-economy aspects**
 - Current account balance (national saving less domestic investment)
 - Interaction with demographic change

Life-cycle consumption theory: Age profile of saving

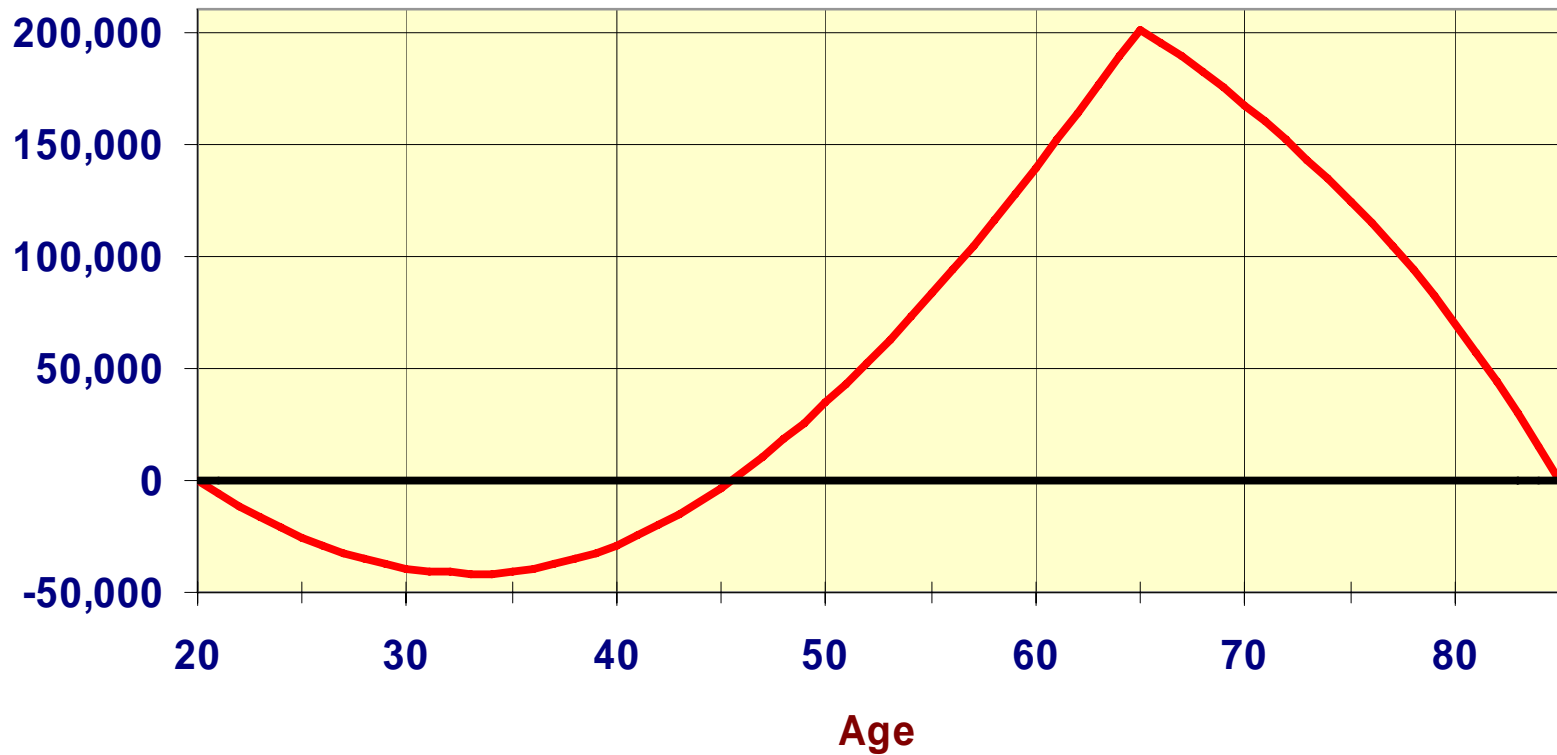
Annual earnings and consumption

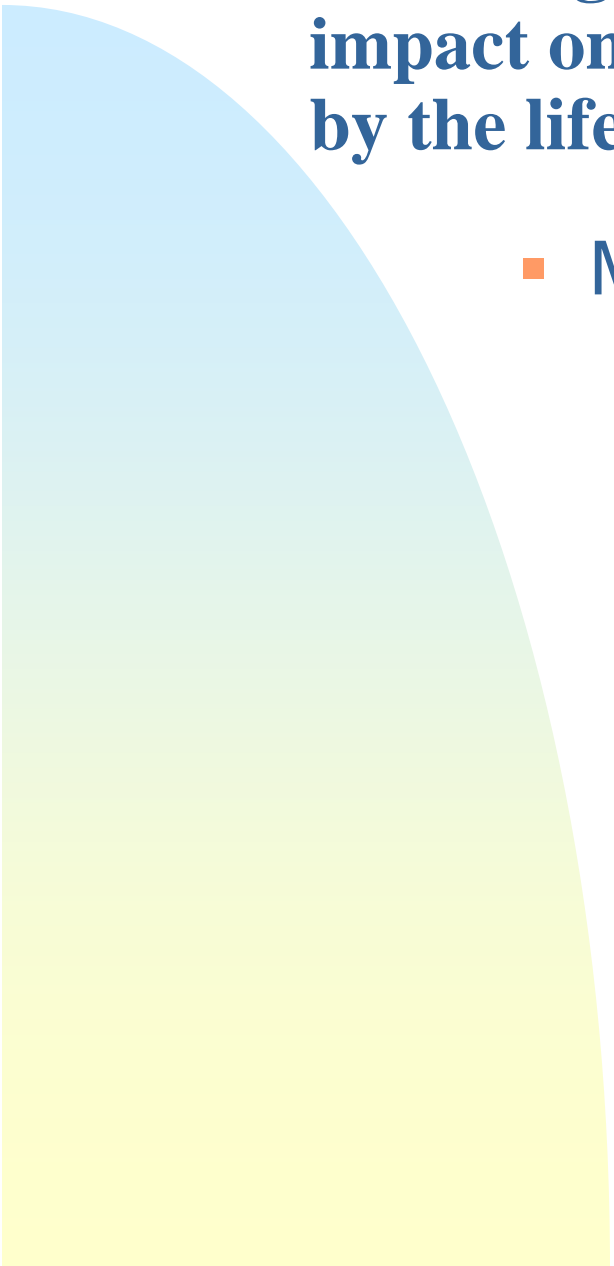


The difference is annual saving
or dissaving.

Life-cycle consumption theory: Wealth accumulation

Wealth



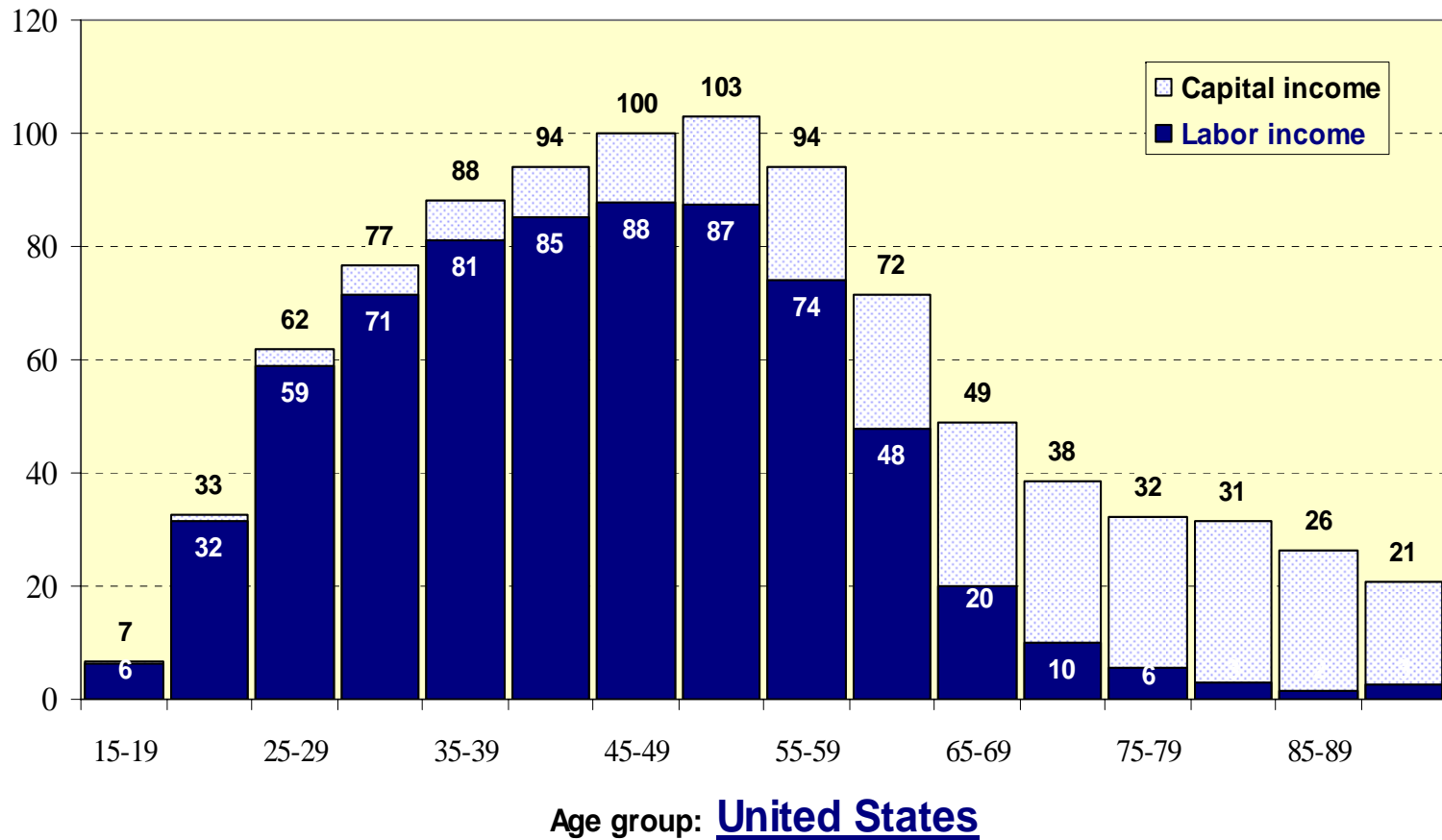


Do changes in the *age structure* have the impact on aggregate household saving implied by the life-cycle hypothesis?

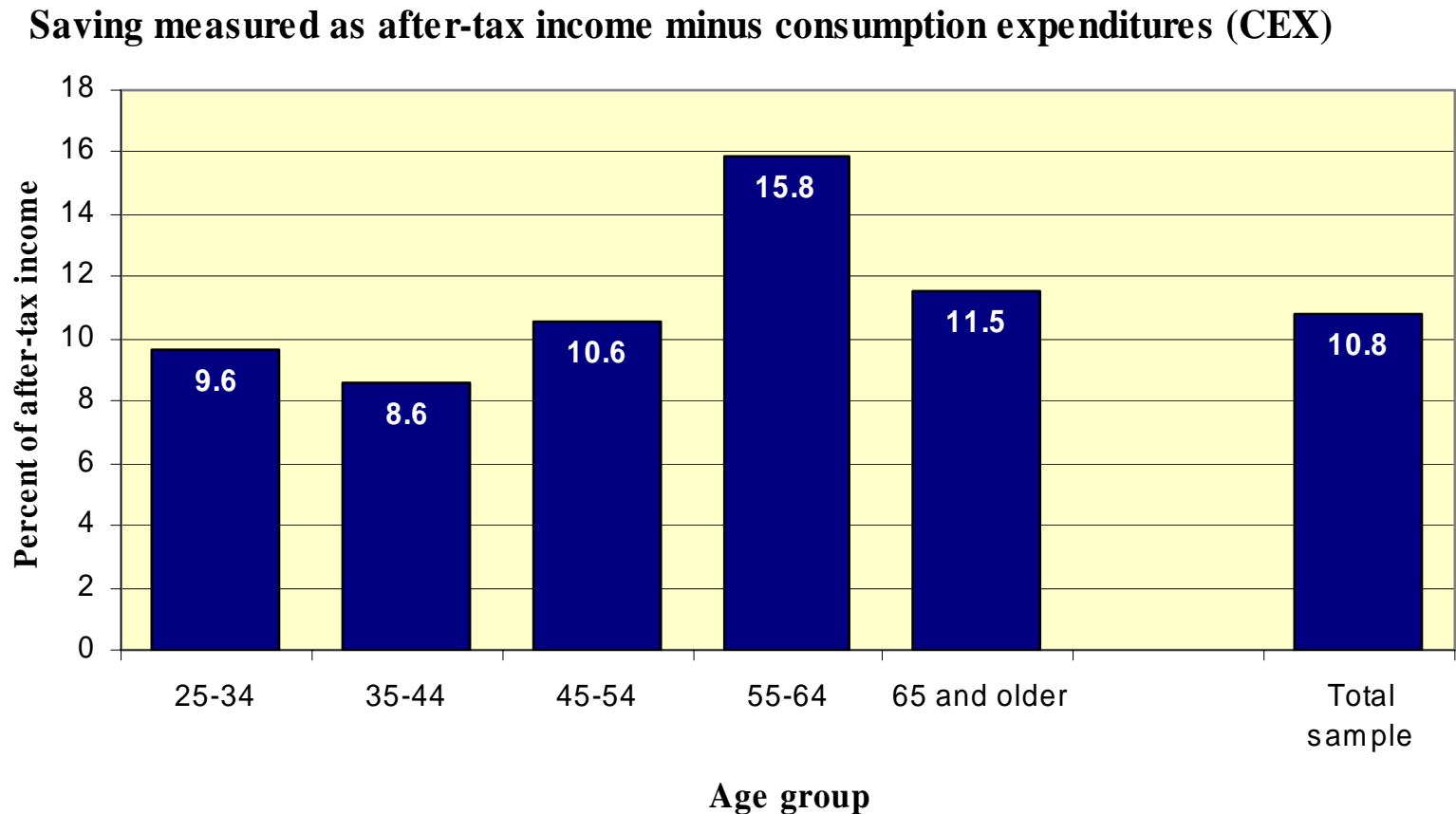
- Microeconomic analysis
 - Weak life-cycle influences
 - Many people have no significant retirement saving
 - Highly disparate patterns of wealth accumulation complicates aggregation
 - Average dollar, not average person
 - Wealthy savers have out-size effect on aggregate saving
 - Importance of cohort effects

Life-cycle consumption theory: Cross-Section Data

Factor income received by average 45-49 year-old = 100



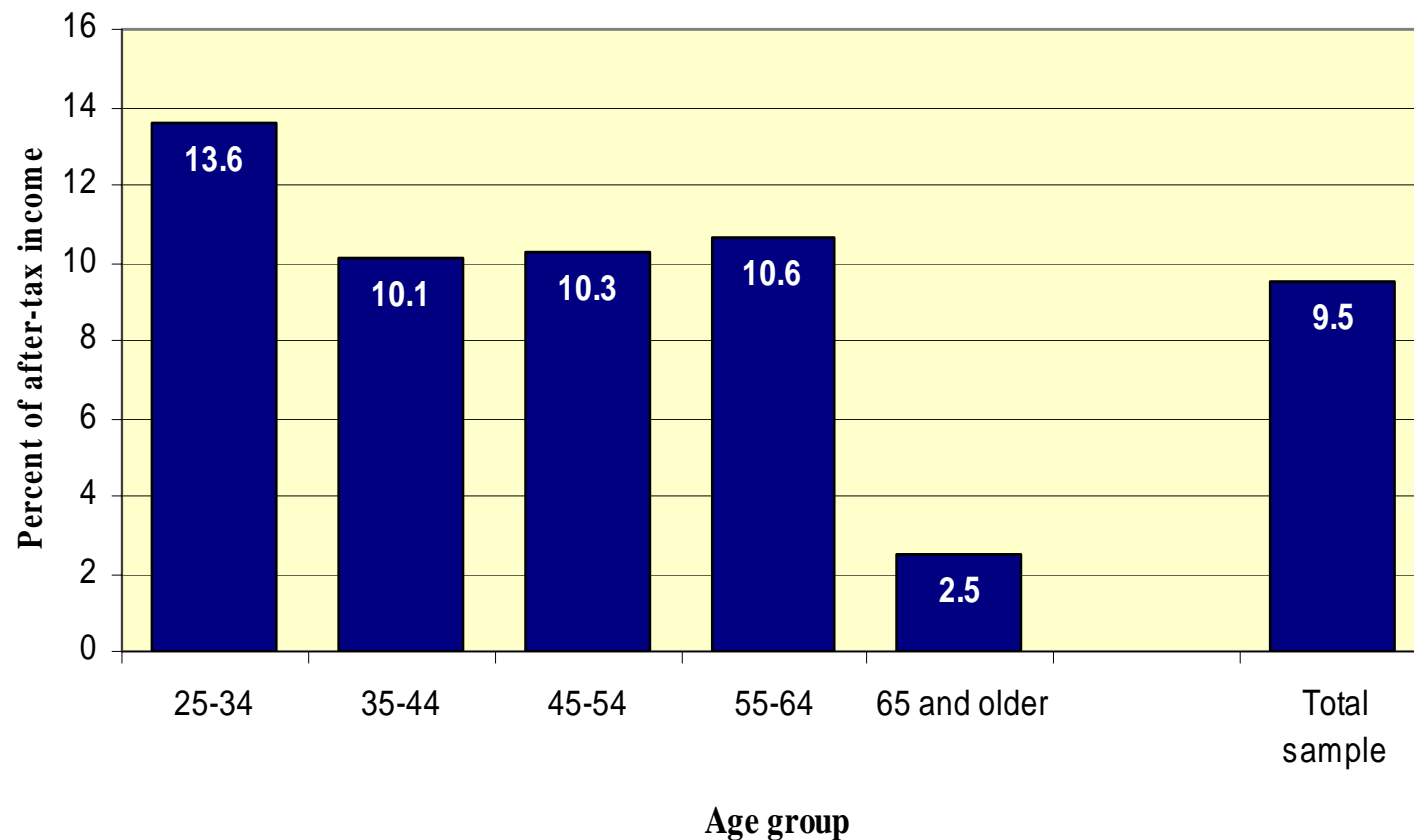
Age pattern of U.S. saving rates: Consumption Survey Results



Source: Bosworth, Burtless & Sabelhaus (1991).

Age pattern of U.S. saving rates: Wealth Survey Results

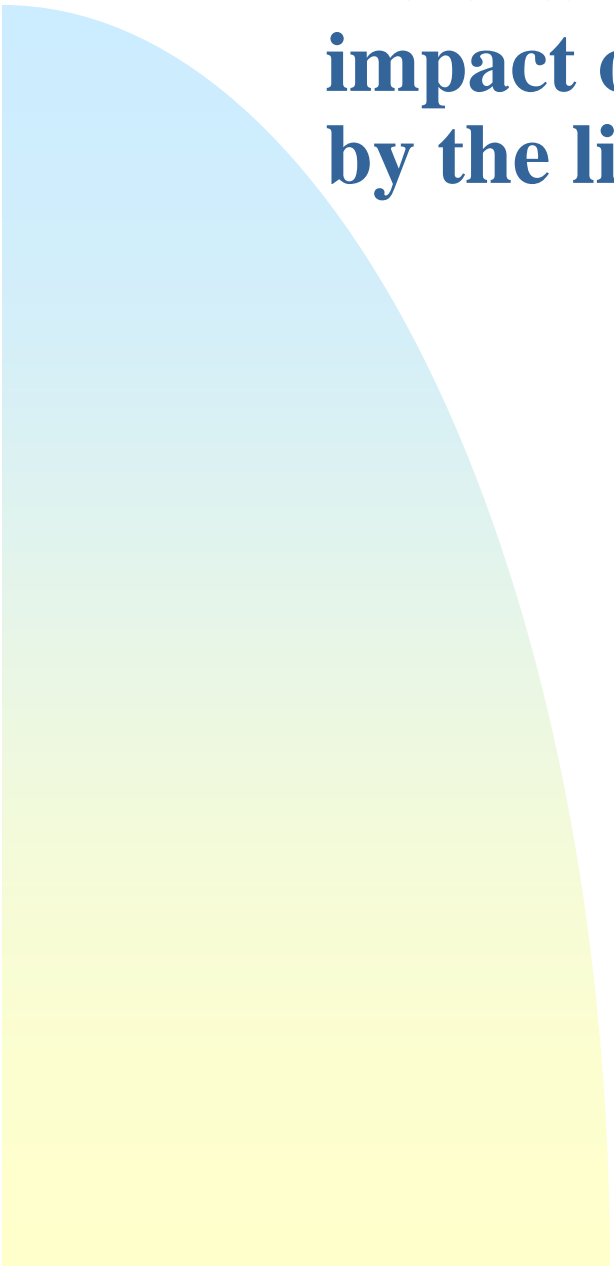
Saving measured as change in wealth minus estimated capital gains (SCF)



Source: Bosworth, Burtless & Sabelhaus (1991).

Macroeconomic analysis

- Shows stronger evidence of demographic effects on saving
 - Most pronounced for Asia
 - Results for industrial economies sensitive to countries and time period.
 - ***But*** – the aggregate trend in personal saving often contradicts theory's prediction: U.S. saving has *declined* since mid-1980s.
- Multi-country panel data sets
 - Cross-national differences are correlated with other determinants.
 - Within-country demographic changes are small compared to changes in saving



Do changes in the *age structure* have the impact on *investment* demand implied by the life-cycle hypothesis?

- Slower labor force growth should reduce growth of required capital stock.
- Limited research on link between labor force growth and technical change

There are only a few studies of impact of aging on investment demand.

- Higgins (1998) concludes that the decline in investment will exceed that of saving for high-income economies out to 2025.
- Bosworth and Keys (2004) also obtained strong demographic effects, but --
 - **Decline in saving projected to exceed that of investment by 2050**
 - **High-income countries would have current account deficits.**

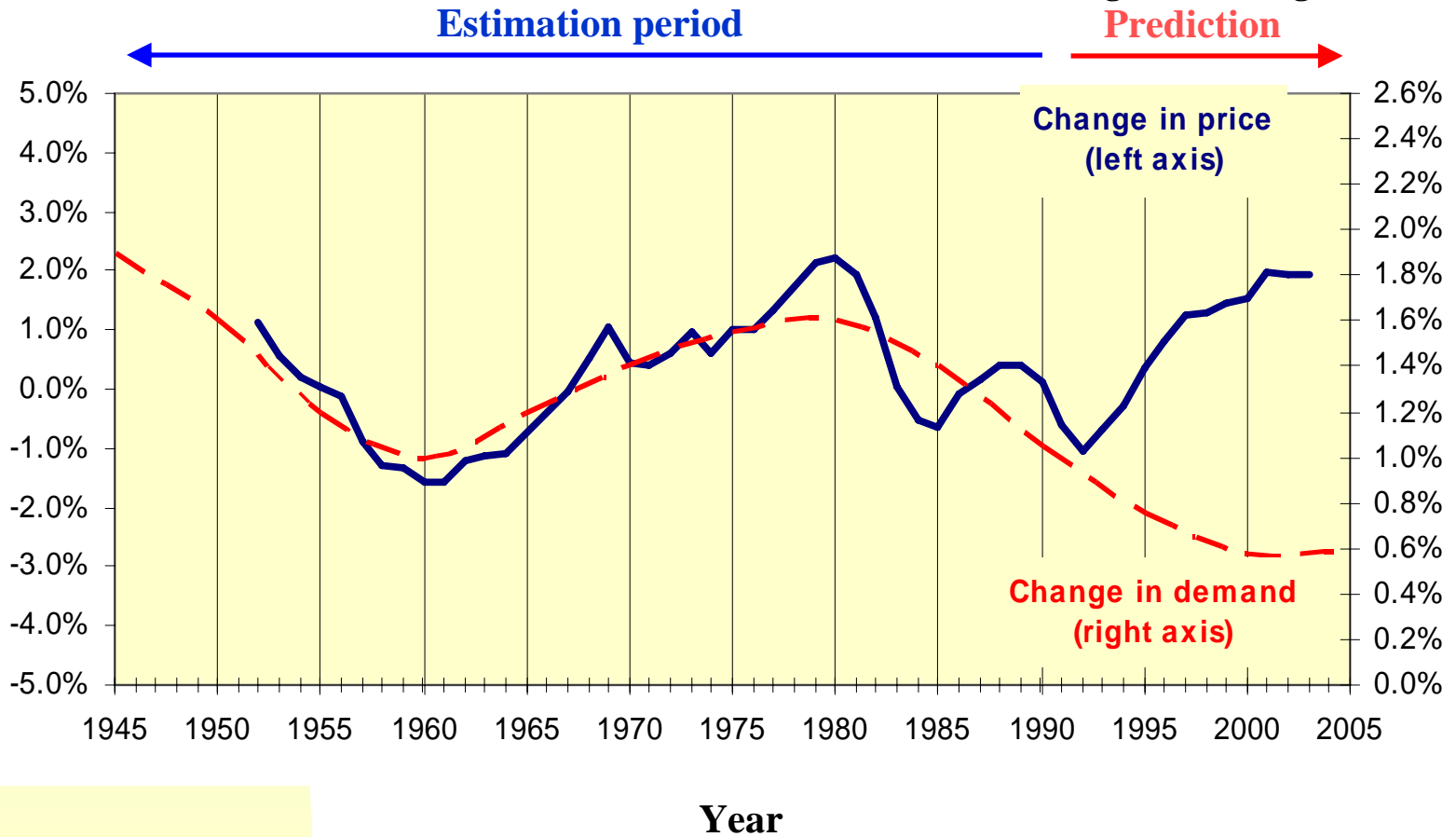
Do changes in the *age structure* have a significant impact on *asset prices*?

- Asset prices assumed to vary in response to changes in the capital-output ratio.
 - Price of capital assumed to depend on marginal product, or relative scarcity
 - Age-related demand for assets
- Mankiw-Weil (1989) – Housing
 - Demographically determined asset prices

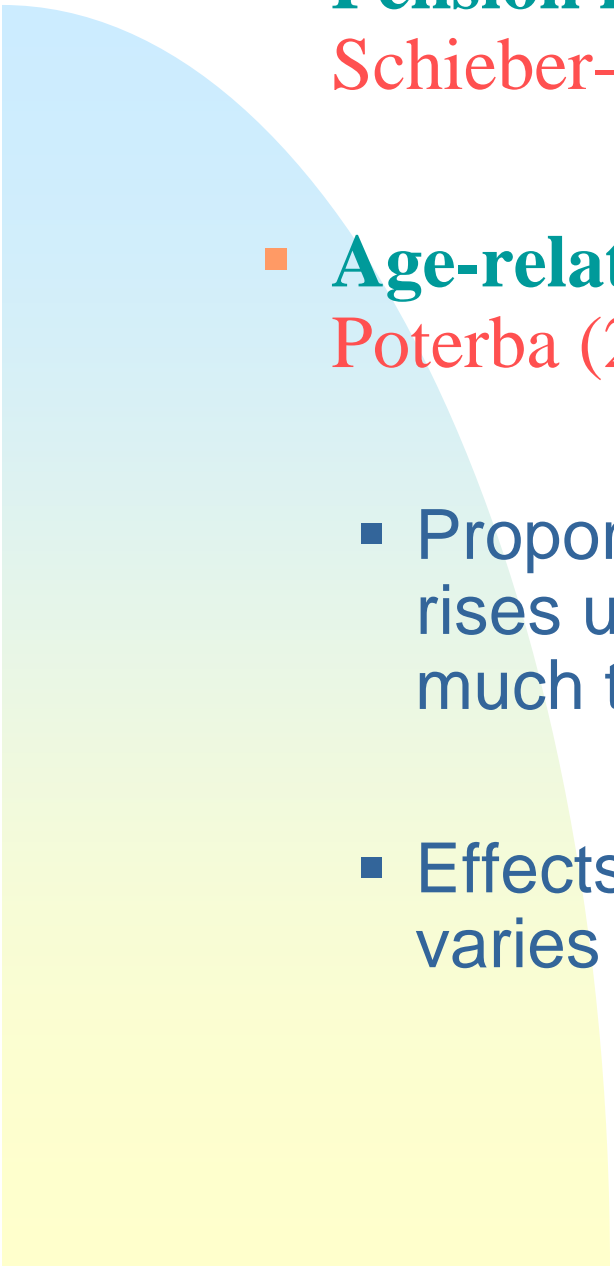
Problem with Mankiw-Weil prediction

Annual rate of change in housing prices
(5-year lagged moving average)

Demographic measure of
"change in housing demand"

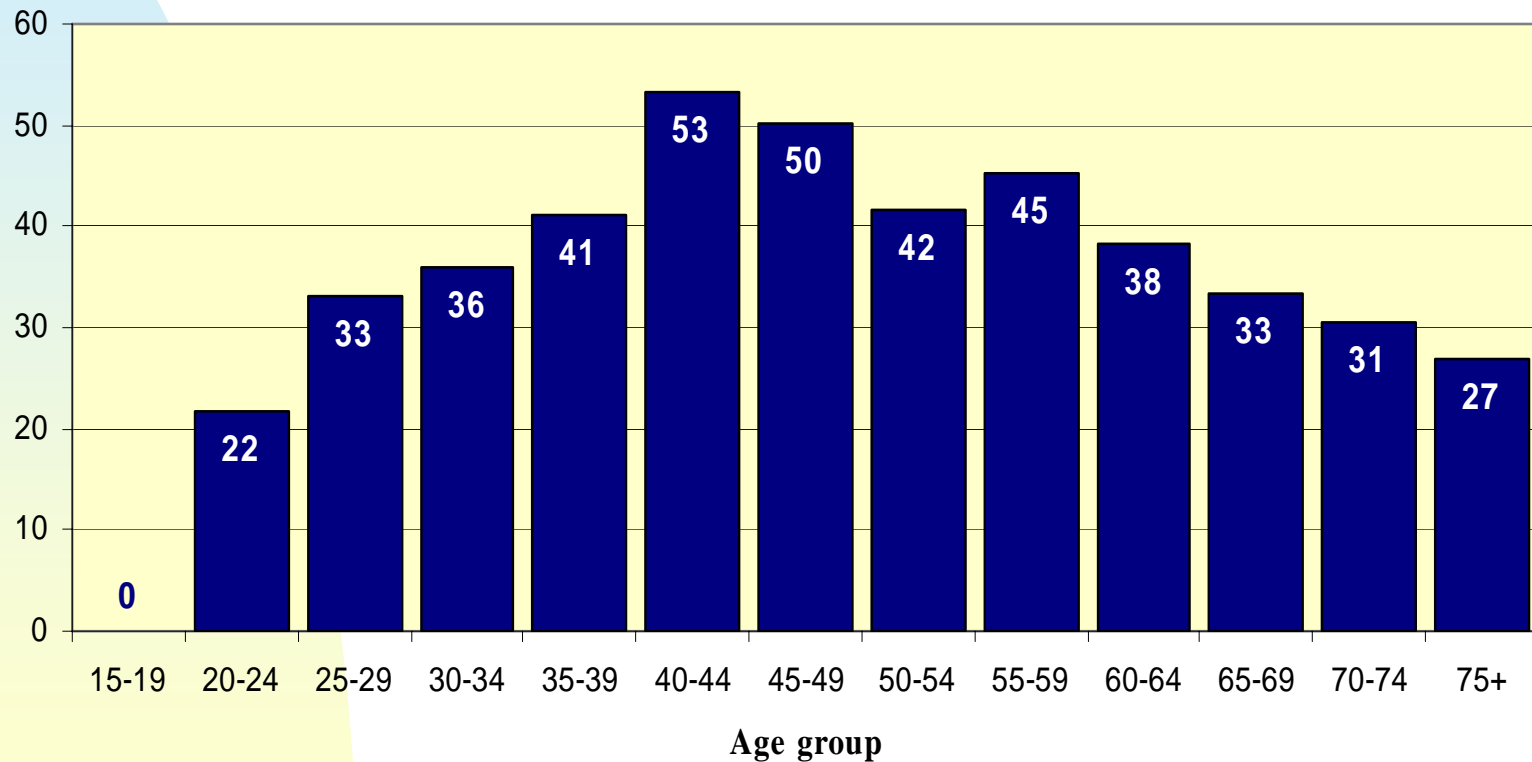


Source: Bosworth, Bryant & Burtless (2004).

- 
- **Pension fund accumulation and decumulation**
Schieber-Shoven (1997)
 - **Age-related portfolio preferences**
Poterba (2001) and Davis and Li (2003)
 - Proportion of portfolio devoted to risky assets rises up to age 60, but does not decline much thereafter
 - Effects of demographic structure on returns varies across countries

Age pattern of household portfolios: Risky asset as % of net financial assets (U.S.A.)

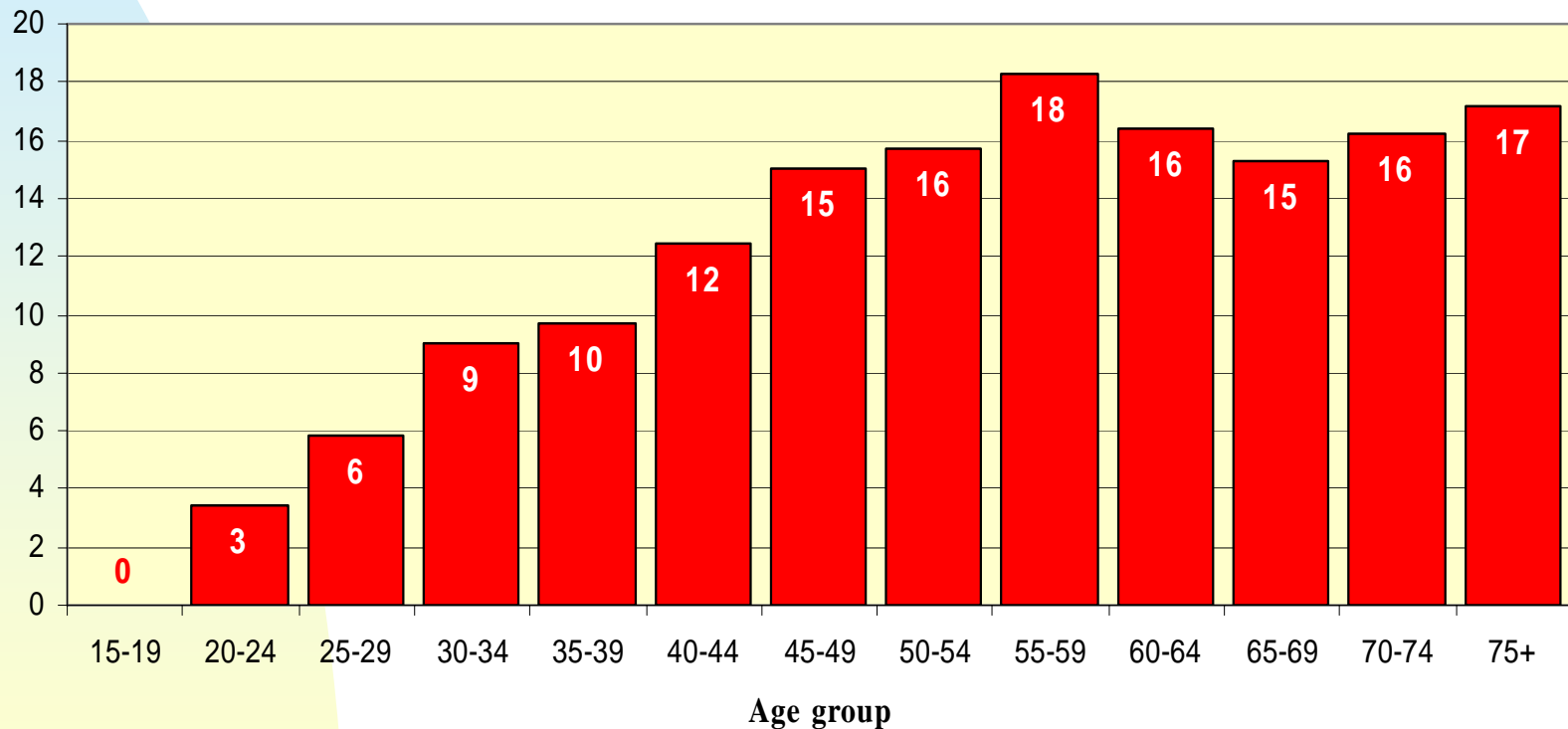
Common stocks as a percent of net financial assets



Source: Poterba (2001).

Age pattern of household portfolios: Risky asset as % of household net worth (U.S.A.)

Common stocks as a percent of net worth

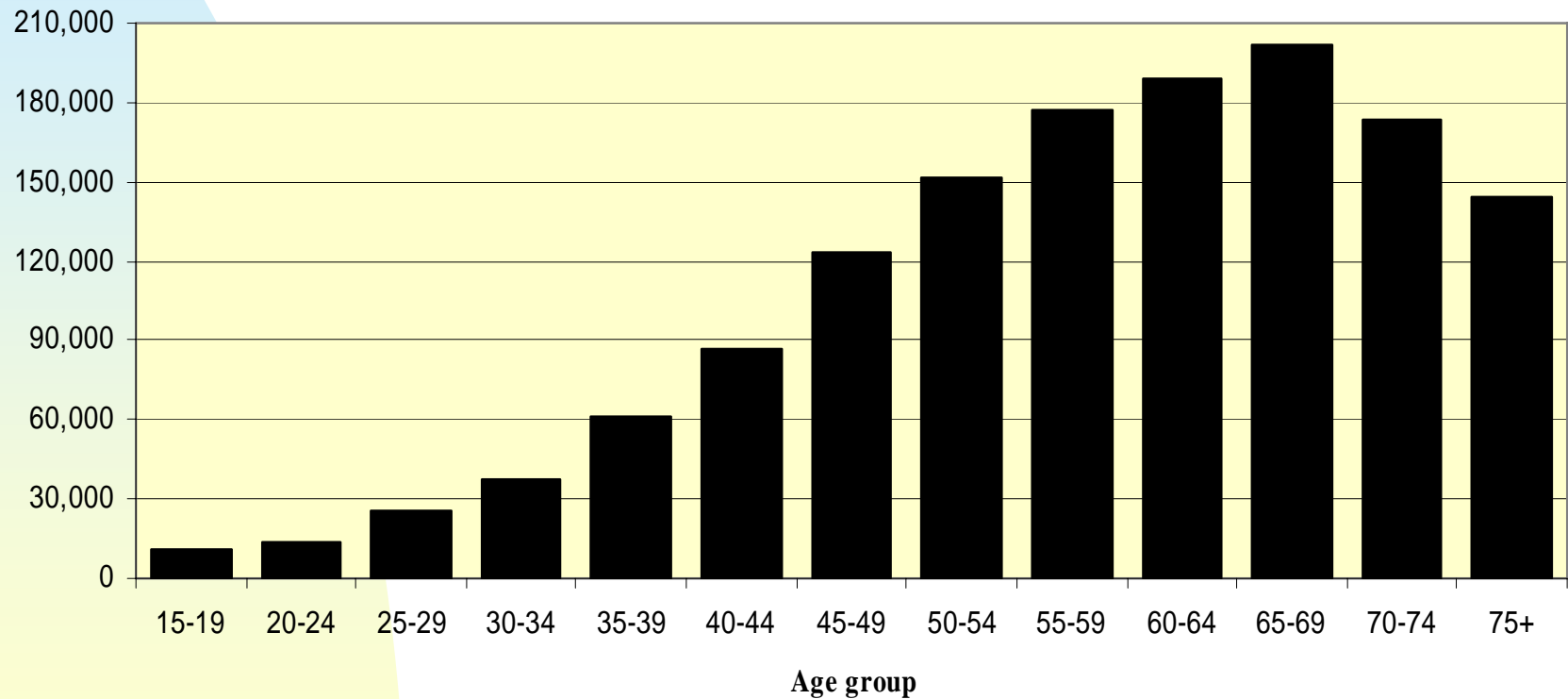


Source: Poterba (2001).

Age pattern of household net worth:

Tabulations of U.S. Survey of Consumer Finances (1983-1995)

Net worth (1995 dollars)



Source: Poterba (2001).

Research Agenda

- **Saving**
 - There is a large disconnect between the micro and macroeconomic research on saving
- **Investment**
 - Panel data for large sample of countries in order to refine estimates of demographic effects
 - Linkage between labor force growth and technological change
- **Asset Prices**
 - Improve the microeconomic data to incorporate pension funds



Cross-Border Impacts of Aging

Enhanced Cross-Border Economic Integration

- **2 sets of underlying causes:**
 - Technological innovations and social/cultural changes reducing economic and psychic distances between nations
 - Lowering of barriers at borders
- **2 secular trends in cross-border “substitutabilities”:**
 - **Goods:** household and firms more willing to substitute home and foreign goods in response to relative price changes
 - **Financial:** savers and investors responding more strongly across borders or currencies to changes in relative expected returns

Implications for an Economy's Saving-Investment Balance

- **Macroeconomic variables more closely linked across borders than before**
- Macroeconomic adjustments channeled relatively more through external-sector transactions; cross-border and cross-currency adjustments more important relative to domestic adjustments
- **Hence larger swings in current-account balances due to heightened goods and financial “substitutabilities”**
- Larger imbalances occur, not only ex ante but also ex post, between national saving and domestic investment

Main conclusion to keep in mind –

- As economies become more open, there may be a reduction in the correlation between domestic investment and national saving.
- Equivalently, there may be a tendency for current-account imbalances to become larger and more variable.
- Hence cross-border and cross-currency adjustments to policy and non-policy shocks rise in importance relative to purely domestic adjustments.

Demographic Shocks in Open Economies

- Different pace and intensity of demographic change in the world, among developed economies, and especially between industrial and developing countries
- External-sector transactions, exchange rates and variations in current account balance are important parts of macroeconomic adjustments to demographic shifts

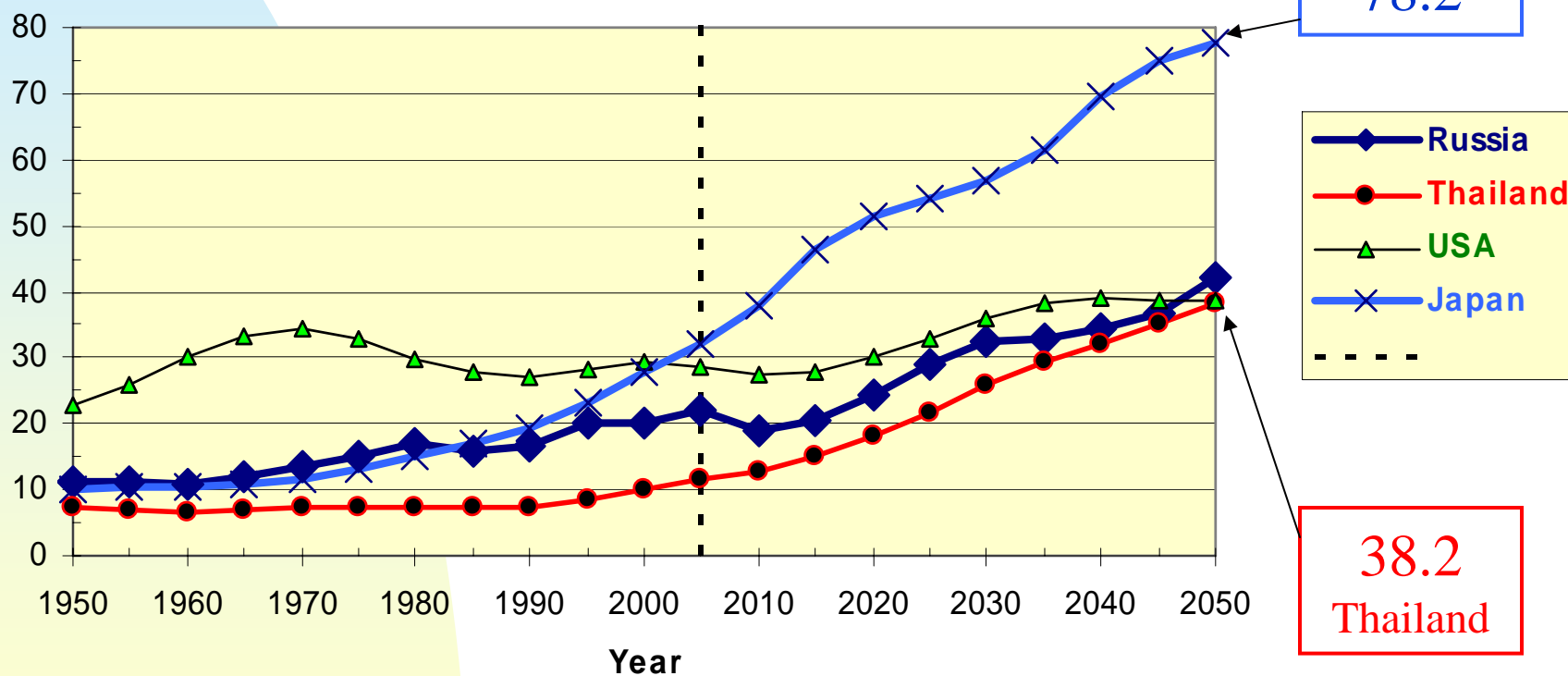
Uneven pace of population ageing across countries

- Fast-ageing areas
 - ◆ Europe
 - ◆ Korea
 - ◆ Japan
- Slow pace of ageing
 - ◆ Indonesia
 - ◆ Nigeria
 - ◆ Philippines
- Intermediate pace
 - ◆ USA / Canada
 - ◆ Australia
 - ◆ Latin America

Unequal change in old-age dependency

Old-age dependency ratio

(Ratio of people 65 years old and older to persons age 20-64)



Source: U.N. Population Projections (2004).

Demographic Shocks in Open Economies

- A nation's dependency ratios – youth and elderly – may be correlated with variations of its current account (S-I) balance
- International capital flows and external-sector goods transactions can “cushion” some of the impacts of demographic change on domestic macroeconomic variables.

Conclusions --

- Micro & macro studies find age profile roughly corresponds to life-cycle prediction
- BUT – micro studies show smaller effect of aging ... possibly because pension saving is missed in micro studies
- Recent saving trends in many industrialized countries *don't* fit the theory: Aggregate saving has dropped *in spite* of more middle-aged savers
- Slower growth in working-age population should depress investment demand
- Whether *declining saving* or *shrinking investment demand* will have bigger effect is open question

Conclusions --

- Different age groups have different preferences for risky & non-risky assets
- In theory, this could mean that aging will influence demand for different asset classes and expected returns
- Micro & macro studies have found age effects on asset holdings and returns of different asset classes
 - ◆ In micro studies, demand for risky assets among very aged implies little if any decline in overall demand for risky assets in foreseeable future
 - ◆ Macro studies fail to uncover consistent pattern of change in asset demand with aging
 - ◆ My guess: The “predictable” impact of age structure on asset demand is small relative to unpredictable sources of change