

Macro
Australian Economics

Downunder Digest

Australia's aging population and its challenges

- ▶ **As the 'baby boomers' are starting to retire, Australia faces similar demographic challenges to other countries**
- ▶ **An aging population is expected to lower the potential growth rate and put extra pressure on government finances**
- ▶ **Australia's openness to migrants could help with demographic challenges, given it has a history of attracting large numbers of skilled migrants, particularly from Asia**

Migration could help deal with the challenge of aging

An ageing population presents a policy challenge for Australia in coming years. Because the 'baby boomers' are now starting to retire, growth in the working age population is already starting to slow. This is expected to act as a drag on Australia's potential growth rate, adding to the problem of Australia's recent weak productivity performance.

To some degree, Australia's compulsory superannuation system has helped to deal with this issue, leaving it better placed than many developed nations. The introduction of this scheme in the late 1980's, means Australia now has a pool of superannuation funds to rival the size of the world's largest sovereign wealth funds. Australia has the world's 4th largest pool of superannuation funds.

Nonetheless, an older population still presents a challenge, particularly for government budgets, as it means greater spending on healthcare and less revenue from the income tax system. With the government's budget currently in deficit (-3.0% of GDP in 2013/14), the ageing population adds to the case for a credible medium-term plan to return to a budget surplus. Cuts to government-funded healthcare are a policy option available to the government. Another option is a shift in the tax base to consumption or wealth-oriented taxes, rather than the current system, which relies heavily on income taxes.

Still another policy option is stronger inward migration flows. Migrants are typically younger than the extant population. They also bring with them much needed skills and have strong ties to their former home countries, which can strengthen financial and trade ties. Australia's already has a targeted immigration scheme, which allows the government to control the types of skills of individual migrants.

Strong migration flows, particularly from fast-growing Asian nations, could help Australia deal with its demographic challenges and also strengthen its links with the fastest growing economies.

8 April 2014

Paul Bloxham

Chief Economist, Australia and New Zealand
HSBC Bank Australia Limited
+61 2 9255 2635
paulbloxham@hsbc.com.au

Adam Richardson

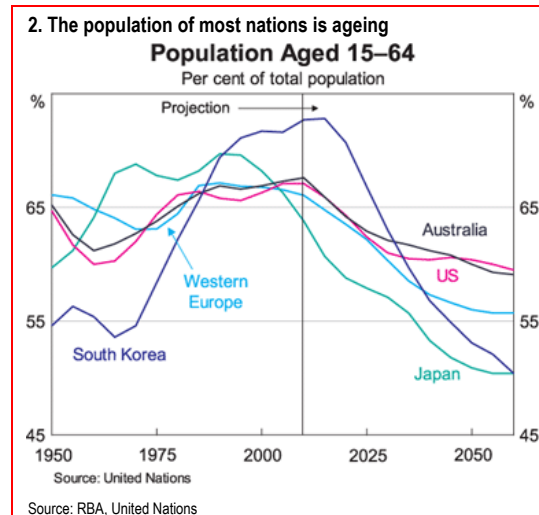
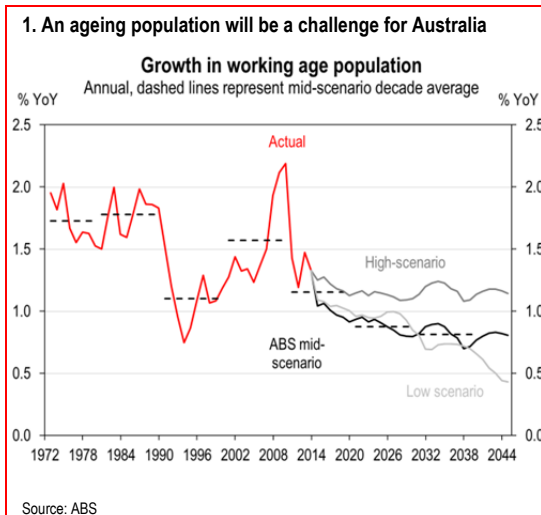
Economist, Australia and New Zealand
HSBC Bank Australia Limited
+61 2 9006 5848
adamrichardson@hsbc.com.au

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Past the peak in the demographic dividend

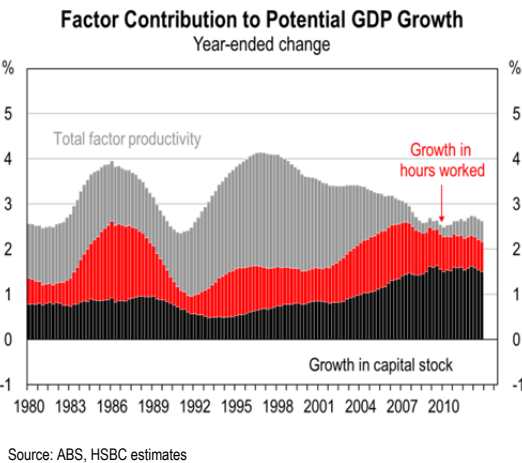
Australia’s demographic dividend is likely to be past its peak. The country has experienced high rates of working age population growth over the past few decades; however, with the ‘baby boomer’ generation beginning to retire, the pace of growth in the working age population is likely to slow. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) projects that population growth will average +1.2% a year in the 2010’s and +0.9% in the 2020’s, down from +1.6% in the 2000’s (Chart 1). The ABS also presents a low and high scenario, with the variation between the outlooks largely explained by differing assumptions about migration.

An ageing population is an issue faced by most developed nations around the world. The post-war ‘baby boom’ and subsequent declining birth rate is one part of the story. Rising incomes and advances in medical technology also mean greater life expectancy, further skewing the average age to the upside. In the US, estimates from the United Nations suggest that 20% of the population will be above 65 by 2030, up from 14% currently. Australia’s population is expected to age in a similar way, with over 65s projected to account for 19% of the population by 2030, from 14% currently (Chart 2).

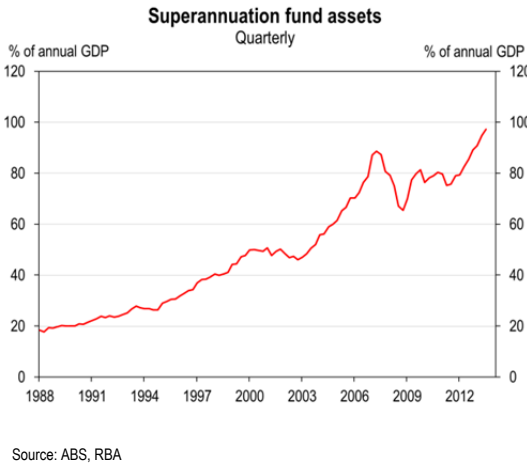
By itself, the ageing of the population will present challenges for Australia’s economy. One challenge is that more people will retire, as the ‘baby boomer’ cohort ages. This will see labour force participation begin to decline. Despite older generations choosing to work longer, partly due to better health, the sheer number of retirees is likely to offset even the most optimistic assumptions about older worker labour force participation (see Bloxham, P. and Richardson A. (2014), [Downunder Digest: Australia’s labour market in focus](#), 10 February).

The amount of workers and their skills is also a key determinant of potential growth. As a result, the projected decline in participation will act as a drag on Australia’s potential growth – the rate at which the economy can sustainably grow in the medium term and the key determinant of the country’s living standards. A trend weakening in labour market participation has already hampered potential growth and this will remain an issue in the future, compounding the problem of Australia’s recent weak productivity performance (Chart 3). See Bloxham, P. and Richardson A. (2014), [Downunder Digest: Australia’s lowered potential](#), 22 January.

3. Slower growth in the workforce has hampered potential



4. Compulsory superannuation has helped raise savings



Aging presents a budget challenge

Another challenge presented by an aging population is the pressure this will place on government finances, both in terms of reduced revenue and increased expenditure, particularly on healthcare. The Australian Productivity Commission estimates that the aging of the population could see government expenditure rise by +5.9 percentage points of GDP by 2060. On these estimates and current policy settings, Australia would deliver consistent budget deficits over the period, without some policy adjustments. A key challenge for the healthcare budget policy is the forecasted increase in the cost of provision due to ever-improving technology. Adjusting the quantum of public provision of health is a policy option for the government.

Another option is to seek to increase tax revenues to meet future spending commitments, including on healthcare. Unless adjustments are made to the tax system, revenues are expected to be reduced by the aging population. A key drag on projected tax revenues is the fact that much of the revenue in the current tax system (at least 45%) comes from personal income taxes, which will be less effective as the population ages. An option is to shift the tax base more towards consumption and wealth-oriented taxes.

Australia's has a head start on pension funding

Past policy choices have helped mitigate the effects of an aging population on the government's finances, in terms of its pension liabilities. Australia adopted a compulsory superannuation scheme in the late 1980's, which now sees employer contributions set at 9.25% of annual salaries, with this rate set to rise to 12% by 2019. The steady rise in the contribution rate, expanded coverage of the system, as well as investment returns have seen superannuation assets reach close to 100% of GDP (Chart 4). The value of Australia's superannuation assets is 1.6 times greater than the value of Norway's sovereign wealth fund.

Research suggests the implementation of compulsory superannuation has had a positive impact on Australia's wealth, on net, despite the reduced incentive it provided for saving out of income. Research from the RBA suggests the offset from reduced private savings is in the region of only 10-30%. Given this, compulsory superannuation has likely helped to lessen the need for Australia's government to provide for people in retirement.

High migration flows are a policy option

Even with the boost from rising retirement savings, health and superannuation costs will put pressure on the budget and hamper Australia's potential growth. Increased migration is a further policy option. Indeed, Australia has historically had strong rates of inward migration, supporting population growth.

Since 2000, Australia's population growth has averaged +1.4% y-o-y, compared to an average of +0.7% y-o-y amongst OECD countries. These flows have already helped Australia to somewhat mitigate the impact of an aging population.

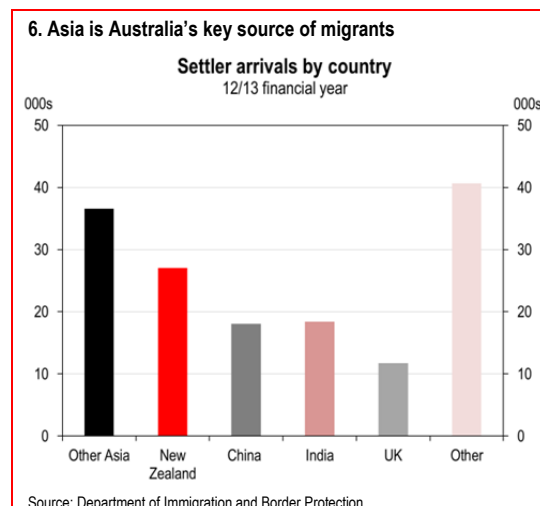
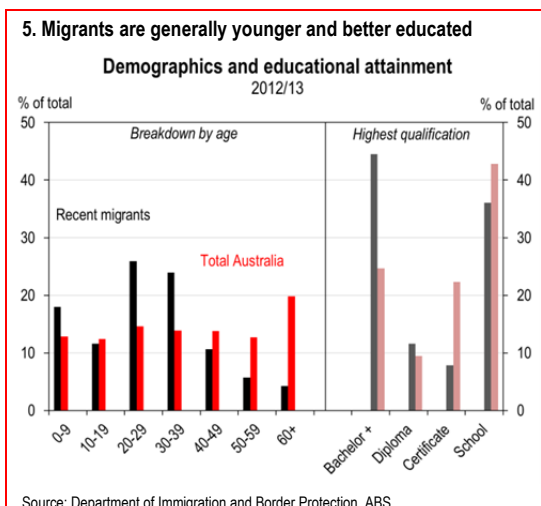
Typically, migrants are younger than the Australian population as a whole and therefore provide a boost to the Australia's workforce and its productive potential. In 2012/13, 74% of migrants were aged between 15 and 65, compared to 67% in the Australian population as a whole (Chart 5). Migrants can also bring needed skills to the Australian workforce. Data from 2010 revealed 45% of recent migrants had a bachelor degree or greater, compared to 25% across the entire country in 2013. Encouraging continued strong migration remains a policy option to mitigate the impacts of an ageing population.

More recently, this strong rate of inward migration has been driven by strong links to Asia (Chart 6). In 2012/13, India was the second largest source of migrants, followed closely by China, with these countries only beaten by New Zealand (reflecting there are essentially no restrictions on migration between Australia and New Zealand). All up, Asia accounted for 48% of total migrants in 2012/13.

In this regard, it is important to keep in mind that migrants also bring further benefits to Australia that are harder to quantify, including skills, knowledge and ties related to their home countries. Australia's already strong trade ties to the fastest growing economies in the world, in Asia, can be complemented by strengthening ties in terms of population flows, which may also facilitate greater business and financial connections to the region.

Bottom line

Australia's demographic dividend has likely peaked, with 'baby boomers' beginning to retire and life expectancy continuing to rise.



This will present challenges for the Australian economy, including that it may: weigh on Australia's potential growth rate; reduce tax revenues; and, increase government spending, particularly on healthcare.

Next month's budget should look at these long-term issues, with adjustments to the tax system and spending commitments.

Migration policy can also help to meet the demographic challenge and may provide additional benefits of increasing Australia's linkages to the fastest growing economies in the world.

Table 1. HSBC's forecasts for Australia and New Zealand

	Year-average			Year-ended						
	2013	2014	2015	Q413	Q114e	Q214e	Q314e	Q414e	Q115e	Q215e
%*										
AUSTRALIA										
GDP	2.4	2.8	3.2	2.8	2.9	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.9	3.2
Consumption	2.0	3.0	2.8	2.6	2.9	3.0	3.1	3.0	2.9	2.8
Public consumption	1.1	2.4	1.8	2.7	2.3	2.7	2.2	2.3	2.0	1.8
Investment	-1.7	-2.0	1.0	-3.2	-1.0	-2.7	-2.9	-1.6	-0.5	0.8
- Dwelling	2.0	7.5	5.9	1.4	5.1	6.6	9.2	9.2	7.5	6.4
- Business	-2.3	-6.4	-2.0	-7.2	-3.8	-6.4	-8.8	-6.4	-4.5	-2.4
- Public	-3.3	5.1	6.3	10.3	3.9	2.4	8.8	5.6	6.1	6.7
Final domestic demand	0.9	1.7	2.3	1.2	1.9	1.5	1.4	1.8	2.0	2.2
Domestic demand	0.4	1.5	2.3	0.9	1.8	1.1	1.5	1.6	2.0	2.2
Exports	6.8	7.2	9.1	6.5	6.1	6.3	8.3	7.9	8.6	8.7
Imports	-2.8	0.2	5.5	-4.6	-0.9	-3.1	1.6	3.4	5.0	5.2
GDP (% quarter)	--	--	--	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.9
CPI**	2.4	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.9	3.1	2.6	2.5	2.7	2.8
Trimmed mean**	2.4	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.5	2.7	2.8
Unemployment rate	5.7	5.9	5.6	5.8	6.0	6.0	5.8	5.7	5.6	5.6
Labour price index	2.9	2.9	3.6	2.6	2.6	2.7	3.0	3.2	3.4	3.5
Current A/C (%GDP)	-2.9	-1.9	-1.5	-2.6	-1.9	-2.0	-2.0	-1.8	-1.8	-1.7
Terms of trade	-4.2	-4.6	-1.8	-1.2	-4.5	-5.8	-3.8	-4.2	-3.2	-2.2
Budget balance (%GDP)	-1.3	-3.0	-2.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Capital city house prices	6.4	10.2	7.5	9.3	10.7	10.1	10.3	9.8	9.3	8.8
Private sector credit	3.4	6.0	6.2	3.9	5.0	5.8	6.4	6.8	6.5	6.1
USD/AUD (end period)	0.93	0.86	0.86	0.93	0.89	0.88	0.87	0.86	0.86	0.86
90-day bank bill rate	2.60	3.10	3.60	2.60	2.60	2.70	2.90	3.10	3.10	3.20
Cash rate (end period)	2.50	2.75	3.50	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.75	3.00	3.00
%*										
NEW ZEALAND										
GDP	2.7	3.5	3.0	3.1	3.5	3.8	3.5	3.3	3.2	3.1
Consumption	3.4	3.5	2.5	3.7	3.6	3.4	3.8	3.2	3.0	2.6
Government consumption	0.9	1.5	0.8	1.3	2.4	2.2	0.3	1.0	0.9	0.8
Investment	9.4	9.8	6.8	10.7	11.2	9.1	8.7	10.3	8.7	7.1
Final domestic demand	4.3	4.7	3.3	4.9	5.1	4.6	4.4	4.6	4.1	3.4
Domestic demand	4.3	4.0	3.3	4.3	4.7	3.9	3.0	4.6	4.1	3.4
Exports	0.9	4.0	3.5	1.0	0.3	5.1	6.5	4.4	3.9	3.6
Imports	6.2	8.0	4.2	8.7	9.0	9.0	6.4	7.6	5.9	4.4
GDP (% quarter sa)	NA	NA	NA	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.6
CPI	1.1	2.3	2.5	1.6	1.8	2.3	2.2	2.6	2.5	2.5
Unemployment rate	6.2	5.4	5.0	6.0	5.7	5.5	5.3	5.2	5.1	5.0
Labour price index	1.7	2.3	2.0	1.6	1.9	2.2	2.4	2.7	2.5	2.2
Current A/C (%GDP)	-3.3	-2.9	-3.8	-1.5	-1.9	-2.6	-3.2	-3.7	-3.7	-3.8
Cash rate (end period)	2.50	3.50	4.50	2.50	2.75	3.25	3.25	3.50	3.75	4.00

Source: ABS, RBA, HSBC forecasts
*unless otherwise specified; **includes the effect of the carbon tax from Q312

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Issuer of report

HSBC Bank Australia Limited

Level 32

HSBC Centre

580 George Street

Sydney, NSW 2000, Australia

Telephone: +61 2 9006 5888

Fax: +61 2 9255 2205

Website: www.research.hsbc.com

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