

What About Japan?

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Japan's Sovereign Debt Puzzle

- ▶ The general government runs large deficits, mostly driven by a secular increase in social security spending as Japan's population ages.
- ▶ Average primary deficit of 5.1% of GDP (1998–2023); cumulative primary deficit of 133% of GDP.
- ▶ Central & local government gross liabilities rose from 93% to 233% of GDP (1997–2023); net liabilities from 66% to 158% of GDP.
- ▶ Highest debt/GDP ratio among advanced economies—without fiscal crisis. How? JP is not in $r < g$ region.

Takeaway: Japan faces rising age-related spending and persistent deficits despite being outside the $r < g$ debt-stabilizing region. How does Japan pull this off?

How does Japan fund these deficits?

- ▶ We consolidate the full Japanese public sector (central/local government, BoJ, and pension funds).
- ▶ **Carry trade:** the public sector earns about 2–3% of GDP (6% in past decade) on risky assets financed at below-market floating rates.
- ▶ **Duration mismatch:** liabilities are short, assets are long; falling real rates therefore expand fiscal space.
- ▶ **Currency mismatch:** liabilities are yen, assets are in foreign currencies; lower real rates (massive depreciation of JPY) therefore expand fiscal space.
- ▶ Net implication: large swings in fiscal capacity as rates move.

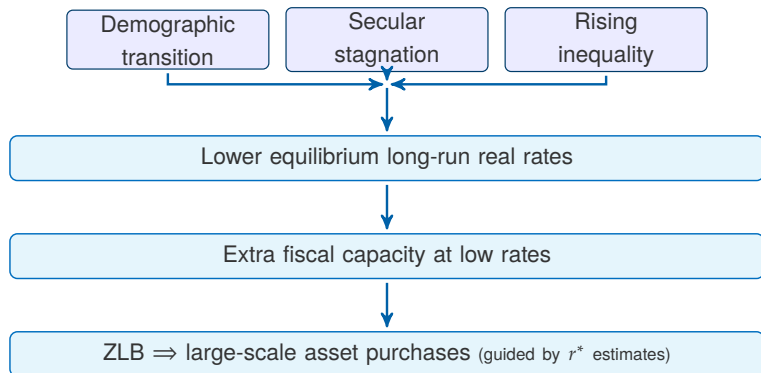
Takeaway: Japan's consolidated public sector runs a large-scale duration and risk transformation that harvests excess returns but increases rate sensitivity of fiscal capacity.

Who pays for all of this?

- ▶ Japanese households: Financial repression acts like an implicit tax on these households.
- ▶ Stand-in Japanese household holds 189% of GDP in deposits at end of 2023 (compared to 69% in the U.S).
- ▶ Household portfolios display a duration mismatch, especially for young, less financially sophisticated households saving in deposits (only 23% hold any securities).
 - ▶ Lower real rates reduce their consumption possibilities because implicit (consumption) liabilities are long duration while assets are short duration. (Greenwald et al., [2022](#))
 - ▶ This generates sizable welfare losses for young non-participants.

Takeaway: Rate policies that relax public financing constraints can simultaneously tighten intertemporal consumption constraints for younger households.

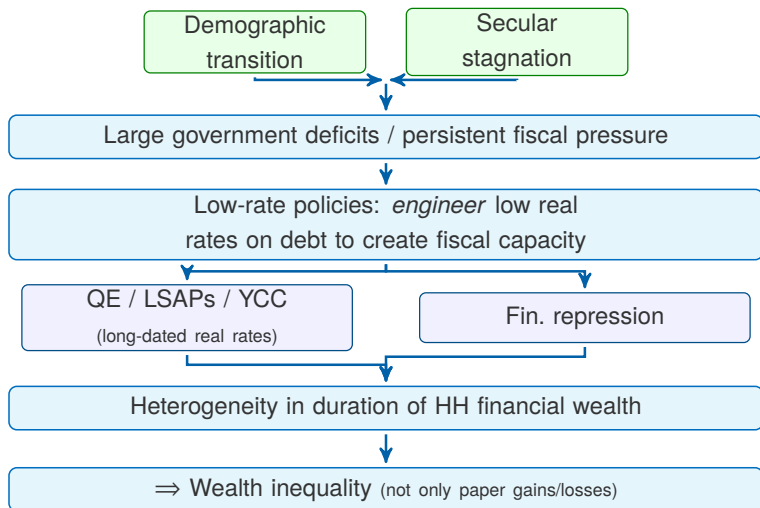
Traditional Macro View



Demographics (Auclert et al., [2021](#)); secular stagnation (Eggertsson, Neil R Mehrotra, and Summers, [2016](#)); inequality (Mian, Straub, and Sufi, [2020](#)).

Fiscal capacity at low rates: (Blanchard, [2019](#); Neil R. Mehrotra and Sergeyev, [2021](#)). r^* estimates: (Laubach and Williams, [2003](#); Laubach and Williams, [2016](#); Holston, Laubach, and Williams, [2017](#)).

This Paper: Alternative (Complementary) View



QE and long-dated rates: (Bianchi, Lettau, and Ludvigson, [2022](#)). Low yields on government debt: (Jiang et al., [2019](#); Di Tella et al., [2023](#)).

Duration heterogeneity and wealth inequality: (Auclert, [2019](#); Greenwald et al., [2022](#)).

Government Debt Dynamics

- ▶ By iterating *backwards* on the government budget constraint, we obtain the following expression for the debt/output ratio:

$$\frac{D_t}{Y_t} = \sum_{j=0}^t \left(\frac{G_{t-j} - T_{t-j}}{Y_{t-j}} \right) \frac{R_{t-j,t}^D}{X_{t-j,t}} + R_{0,t}^D \frac{D_{-1}}{Y_{-1}},$$

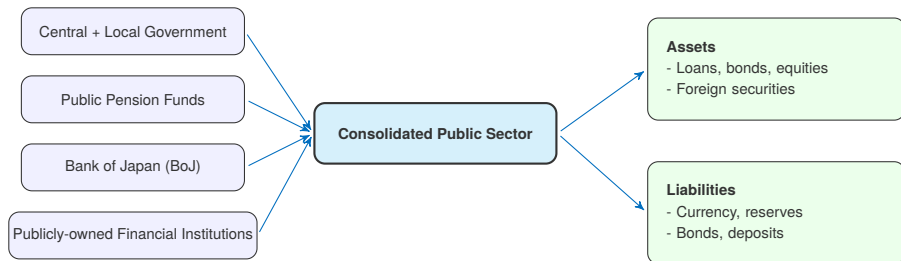
where $R_{t-j,t}^D = \prod_{k=1}^j R_{t-j+k}^D$ and $X_{t-j,t} = \prod_{k=1}^j X_{t-j+k}$. X_t denotes nominal GDP growth. R_t^D denotes the gross return on the entire portfolio of marketable debt D_t .

- ▶ **Steady state:**

$$\frac{D}{Y} = \frac{\frac{G-T}{Y}}{\frac{x-r^D}{1+x}}.$$

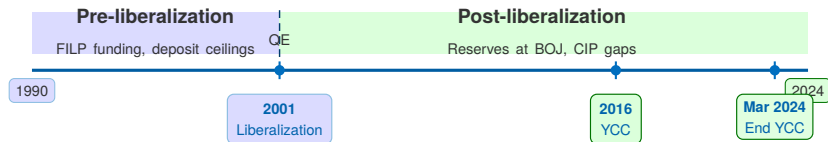
- ▶ When $r^D < x$, the government run steady-state deficits ($G > T$) with a constant debt/GDP ratio. (see, e.g., Blanchard, 2019; Neil R. Mehrotra and Sergeyev, 2021).
- ▶ Japan not in the Blanchard goldilocks region: r^D is 1.66% while x is 0.39%.

Consolidating the Public Sector



Takeaway: We measure debt dynamics at the consolidated public-sector level, not for central government in isolation.

Cheap funding for public sector



▷ Prior to 2001: Cheap funding for government.

- HH trapped in deposits:
 - Interest rate ceilings on deposits.
 - HH deposits at Japan Post and pension fund reserves required to fund FILP.

▷ Post-2001 liberalization: Alternative sources of cheap funding.

- Replacing FILP deposits with bank reserves at BoJ: BoJ starts large scale asset purchases (2001). BoJ starts YCC (2016).
- Domestic market segmented by large CIP deviations.

Consolidated Public Sector Balance Sheet

December 1997			
Assets		Liabilities	
Deposits	5.9%	Currency	10.8%
Loans	102.8%	Bank Reserves	0.6%
Domestic Equities	10.7%	Bonds & T-Bills	41.8%
Foreign Securities	7.5%	Loans	55.1%
Other Assets	8.4%	Deposits FILP	46.4%
		Other Liabilities	5.2%
December 2023			
Deposits	18.0%	Currency	21.7%
Loans	60.8%	Bank Reserves	91.1%
Domestic Equities	38.7%	Bonds & T-Bills	107.7%
Foreign Securities	56.6%	Loans	36.0%
Other Assets	7.2%	Deposits FILP	1.6%
		Other Liabilities	10.1%

Consolidated public sector balance sheet (% of GDP). Central + local gov't + BoJ + pension funds + publicly owned banks.

Public Sector Harvesting $rx > 0$

- ▶ Start from static budget constraint for consolidated gov't.

$$G_t - T_t + D_{t-1}R_t^D - A_{t-1}R_t^A = D_t - A_t \equiv ND_t$$

where R_t^A denotes the gross return on the portfolio of assets, A_{t-1} .

- ▶ The net debt/output ratio dynamics:

$$\frac{\tilde{D}_t}{Y_t} = \sum_{j=0}^t \left(\frac{G_{t-j} - T_{t-j}}{Y_{t-j}} \right) \frac{R_{t-j,t}^D}{X_{t-j,t}} - \frac{R_{0,t}^A - R_{0,t}^D}{X_{0,t}} \frac{A_{-1}}{Y_{-1}} + R_{0,t}^D \frac{\tilde{D}_{-1}}{Y_{-1}}.$$

- ▶ **Steady state.** Even if $r^D > x$, the government can run steady-state deficits ($G > T$) with a constant \tilde{D}/Y provided that $rx \frac{A}{Y} = (r^A - r^D) \frac{A}{Y}$ is large enough:

$$\frac{\tilde{D}}{Y} = \frac{T-G}{Y} + \frac{rx}{1+x} \frac{A}{Y}.$$


Returns on Consolidated Balance Sheet

- ▶ Japanese Gov't earns an additional 2.28% of GDP on its risky asset position.
 - ◊ Japanese Gov't earns r^A of 1.90% per annum above its cost of funding.
 - ◊ The spreads really started to increase after 2013.
- ▶ Asset side: Larger allocations to risky asset classes.
- ▶ Liability side: Shift to funding at floating rates.

	r^D	r^A	$r^A - r^D$	$(r^A A - r^D D)$
1998-2023	0.69%	2.59%	1.90%	2.28%
1998-2012	0.92%	0.89%	-0.04%	-0.63%
2013-2023	0.38%	5.04%	4.66%	6.25%
Counterfactual: No QE (yields up 200 bps) + full currency hedging				
1998-2023	1.34%	1.89%	0.55%	-0.55%
1998-2012	1.03%	1.07%	0.04%	-0.67%
2013-2023	1.77%	3.05%	1.28%	-0.38%
				as % of GDP.

Takeaway: Without repression, Japan's consolidated public sector would be *losing* money on its balance sheet.

Consolidated Public Sector Balance Sheet

	% of GDP, Year End	1997	2012	2023	97 to 23 Diff
Assets	Deposits	5.9%	8.5%	18.0%	12.1%
	Loans	102.8%	63.1%	60.8%	-42.1%
	Domestic Equities	10.7%	20.9%	38.7%	28.0%
	Foreign Securities	7.5%	29.7%	56.6%	49.1%
	Other Assets	8.4%	7.9%	7.2%	-1.1%
	Sum	135.2%	130.1%	181.3%	46.1%
Liabilities	Currency	10.8%	18.3%	21.7%	10.9%
	Bank Reserves	0.6%	9.5%	91.1%	90.4%
	Bonds & T-Bills	41.8%	162.3%	107.7%	65.9%
	Loans	55.1%	48.5%	36.0%	-19.1%
	Deposits FILP	46.4%	1.1%	1.6%	-44.9%
	BoJ External Debt	0.0%	0.1%	7.5%	7.5%
	Other Liabilities	5.2%	8.7%	10.1%	4.9%
	Sum	159.9%	248.5%	275.6%	115.7%
 Net Liabilities		24.7%	118.4%	94.3%	69.6%

Who's paying for all this?

- ▶ Can you run a SWF (e.g., like Norway) with borrowed money? While keeping debt risk-free? Not if debt is priced correctly.

Assets	Liabilities
A Market value of risky assets	D Market value of debt
S PV of primary surpluses	

$$\mathbb{E}_t \left[R_{t+1}^D - R_t^f \right] = \left(1 - \frac{A_t}{D_t} \right) \mathbb{E}_t \left[R_{t+1}^S - R_t^f \right] + \frac{A_t}{D_t} \mathbb{E}_t \left[R_{t+1}^A - R_t^f \right].$$

- ▶ Yields are too low –182 bps.
- ▶ Savers are taking on extra risk without being compensated for it.

Duration Mismatch in Public Sector

- ▶ Iterate forward on the government's budget constraint to obtain debt valuation expression:

$$\text{Debt} = \mathbb{E}_0 \sum_{t=0}^{\infty} R^{-t} (T_t - G_t).$$

- ▶ Gauge the effect of real rate declines on the government's spending possibilities:

- (a) If $D^{Debt} < D^{T-G}$ then spending possibilities expand when the interest rate falls. ✓
- (b) If $D^{Debt} > D^{T-G}$ then spending possibilities contract.

- ▶ Japan is in case (a): Negative $D^{NetDebt}$ of 22 yrs because $D^A \gg D^D$, and D^{T-G} of 55 yrs.

$$\text{Debt} \searrow \ll \mathbb{E}_0 \sum_{t=0}^{\infty} R'^{-t} (T_t - G_t) \nearrow$$

- ▶ Rate decrease generates lots of extra fiscal capacity.

Japanese HH Balance Sheet: Trapped in Deposits.

December 1997			
Assets		Liabilities	
Currency and Deposits	127.6%	Loans	64.8%
Debt Securities	11.7%	Other Liabilities	10.5%
Equities	20.4%		
Insurance & Pension	63.1%		
Other Assets	12.8%		

December 2023			
Currency and Deposits	188.9%	Loans	61.9%
Debt Securities	4.8%	Other Liabilities	2.4%
Equities	63.4%		
Insurance & Pension	90.2%		
Other Assets	11.9%		

Japan household sector (% of GDP).

Takeaway: Japanese HH hold 189% of GDP in deposits, compared to 69% in the U.S. Deposits are short-duration assets funding long-duration consumption needs.

Duration Mismatch in Household Sector

- ▶ Iterate forward on the HH budget constraint to obtain expression for financial wealth:

$$\theta_0 = \mathbb{E}_0 \sum_{t=0}^{\infty} R^{-t} (C_t - Y_t).$$

- ▶ HH consumption possibilities (Greenwald et al., 2022):

- (a) If $D^\theta > D^{c-y}$ then consumption possibilities expand when the rate fall. (old)
- (b) If $D^\theta < D^{c-y}$ then consumption possibilities contract. (young)

- ▶ In case (b), when rates fall:

$$\theta_0 \nearrow \ll \mathbb{E}_0 \sum_{t=0}^{\infty} R'^{-t} (C_t - Y_t) \nearrow \nearrow .$$

- Lower real rates \rightarrow young Japanese households (deposit savers) are worse off.
- Lower real rates \rightarrow older fin. sophisticated households with bonds/equities are better off.

Conclusion

- ▶ Consolidate Japanese government's balance sheet.
- ▶ Japanese government engaged in risky maturity transformation (with financial repression).
- ▶ Japanese government has engineered large maturity mismatch between surpluses and debt.
 - ◊ Duration mismatch on government balance sheet: fiscal capacity boost from lower real rates.
- ▶ Japanese households have large maturity mismatch between spending needs and assets.
 - ◊ Duration and currency mismatch on HH balance sheet: large welfare losses (gains) for young non-participants (older participants).
- ▶ As the BoJ normalizes rates, the carry trade unwinds—fiscal pressure increases again, but household savers benefit.

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