JAPAN’S BET: INFLATION AND GDP AFTER THE ABENOMICS’ THREE ARROWS
MATHEUS SHIRO PINHEIRO HIRATA

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This paper was submitted to the Economics Department of the College of Letters and Sciences of São Paulo State University/Araraquara, as a request to achieve a bachelor's degree in economics.

Academic Adviser: Dr. Elton Eustáquio Casagrande, PhD

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2022
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AKNOWLEDGMENT

This paper acknowledges the former Prime Minister of Japan, Shinzo Abe, the longest-serving prime minister Japan ever had, responsible for promoting deep technical and structural changes in Japan. His legacy shall remain as a symbol of a remarkable politician who has inspired the world.
ABSTRACT
The Japanese economy has presented an unprecedented status since it has been stagnated for 30 years, with a deflation process. Under these conditions the economy could not return to the economic growth path. This economic characteristic has been called “Japanization”. During these 30 years, policies tried to regain dynamism to the economy. The latest policies are known as “Abenomics” since the prime minister Shinzo Abe launched them. In the meanwhile, these policies are still in effect, even though Abe left cabinet in late 2020. “Abenomics”, aims to end the deflation process and the stagnation using three main policies called “The Three Arrows”. This paper explains the theoretical framework regarding the “Japanization” process, the “Three Arrows” of “Abenomics”. Besides the discussions are conducted to understand the effectiveness of the proposals related to their objectives.

Keywords: Abenomics, Japanese Economy, Inflation Target, Quantitative Easing, Monetary Policy, Political Economy.
Summary

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Introduction

Monetary and fiscal policies are measures to maneuver economic activity. It’s not unusual to observe a country taking one of the policies mentioned to step-up its economy (SHIBATA, 2017). A decision by using both policies in their conventional “Mainstream” status happens to occur in a very worrisome economic scenario, caused by a crisis or a strong attempt to enhance economic development. However, a series of unconventional policies have been taken by some countries in recent days due to the harsh crisis they’ve experienced¹ (FERREIRA-LOPES et al., 2021).

These decisions usually happen in a desperate movement to increase the output and employment of the economy. In this paper, the object of the study is Japan, a country which experienced, among others, unconventional policies to boost its economy².

The objective in this paper is to discuss inflation and growth after the beginning of the Abenomics’ economic policies.

After 1990 Japan’s economy was struggling to improve economic activity, therefore policy makers engaged in a series of monetary and fiscal policies combined in an unconventional practice. Cutting taxes and improving public spending do have significant stimulative multiplier effects on the economy, however the maneuvers were insufficient back in the 1990s. (KUTTNER; POSEN, 2002).

Milton Friedman analyzed Japan policies in the paper: “Japan resorted repeatedly to large doses of fiscal stimulus in the form of extra government spending… The result: stagnation at best, depression at worst for most of the last decade” (FRIEDMAN, 2001). Friedman observed a scenario that the fiscal stimulus happening in Japan perhaps would be relevant in the long term. But it was not when it was needed the most, in the short term as a cyclical measure and that alongside would either be needed monetary policies (FRIEDMAN, 2001).

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¹ Unconventional Policies are those which transfers incomes, provides easy funding to companies and customers, resigns fiscal incomes, enhance public expenditure to reduce the impacts of a recession.

² Other examples of countries that applied unconventional policies like Japan were: The United States of America, Euro Zone, United Kingdom, Brazil, Argentina.
A strong intervention of the Central Bank of Japan (BoJ) increased the purchase of Japanese Government Bonds, to reduce the impacts from the late 1990s, the stagnation and deflation (Kutner and Posen, 2002).

The mistaken fiscal policies and the insufficient monetary actions happened repeatedly (Shibata, 2017). In August 2000, BoJ increased the interest rates among a scenario of deflation, and this went to the public outside the forward guidance. Nevertheless, even with the BoJ focusing to improve its rhetoric from 2003, it was clear that the monetary authority failed to manage observers’ expectations, therefore, it failed to change the inflation expectation (ITO AND MISHKIN, 2006).

Posen (2002) remarked the excessive fiscal tightening from early 2000s and the repeatedly insufficient monetary stimulus (HAUSMAN AND WIELAND, 2015) lead to another lost decade. After 20 years of stagnation and deflation, since 1998, a series of theories surrounding Japan’s economic situation have arisen.

After the 2008 crisis, the developed countries faced a scenario that Japan was already going through. The term “Japanization” emerged to exemplify the conditions that Japan was in since the 1990s and until 2012. Therefore, a series of policies, named “Abenomics”, were proposed by the elected Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in late 2012. The economic program was launched as a new alternative to stimulate the economy of Japan.

To reach the objective in this review, it was collected bibliographic contributions, all of them related to the Abenomics and the reflects on the Japanese economy. In this paper, a special analysis is made to connect the Abenomics to GDP and Inflation in Japan.

It is also expected from this paper to contribute to the macroeconomics knowledge in order to stimulate the discussion regarding undergraduate researchers opportunity. This paper is structured in three sections besides the introduction. The second contains the rationality and goals intended to be achieved by “Abenomics” policies. The third provides a historical framework of the Japanese economy. And the fourth, containing a Literature Review with comparisons between the selected theoretical framework of assessments of Abenomics through time since Abenomics is still in effect.
II. Historical Analysis leading to “Abenomics”

“Japanization” is a nickname referring to Japanese economics’ status AFTER 1990s. The name itself has not achieved a correct definition throughout the academy and is paramount to have in sight that it may have several aspects aside the economic environment.

Once the idea has been enlightened, the name became notorious among economists through a paper from Asian Development Bank Institution (KAWAI AND MORGAN, 2013) also, A Tokyo-based journalist from Bloomberg, William Pesek published a book “Japanization: What the World Can Learn from Japan’s Lost Decades”, 2014, mentioning the status of Japanese economy along the 30 years of stagnation.

Further the nickname appeared in several papers about the Japanese economy and the phenomenon gained stylized facts to its meaning within economists.

The National Bureau of Economic Research published a paper regarding the economic characteristics of “Japanization”. A list of four topics concerning some aspects to offer a rationale for the policy practice (ITO, 2016).

The first one is the Stagnant Growth. A sustained period in which the real economic growth rate is consistently below the potential growth rate. This phenomenon is associated with a lack of aggregate demand, which can be explained by the ideas of Keynes (KEYNES, 1936).

The second is the Secular Stagnation, some of the main characteristics which could enlighten the causes of a prolonged stagnant growth. The emphasis on the secular idea is that it shall happen once the aggregate demand is below the aggregate supply forced by a real interest higher than the natural real rate of interest. “Secular stagnation can be defined as the natural real rate of interest becoming negative, while the actual rate stays above the natural rate.” (ITO, 2016, p.6).

Nominal Zero Bound is the third characteristic of Japanization. The policy rate is lowered to almost zero. The Central Banks respond to stagnation lowering the policy rate in an attempt to enhance economic activity, meanwhile the nominal interest rate shall not be lower than zero. Therefore, this path culminates into the last maneuver a central bank can perform with conventional monetary policy.
“The ZIRP [Zero Interest Rate Policy] seems to show that the conventional tool alone cannot lift the economy out of secular stagnation.” (ITO, 2016, p.7).

The final element, the fourth, it contributes to a Deflation. Even though deflation in Japan since 1998 had a lower impact compared to the period immediately after the Great Depression (1929), it had a duration of more than a decade when price levels were measured by CPI or GDP deflator, as the analysis showed.

Ito’s comprehension states “Japanization” is a state of the economy that satisfies all of the above (1)-(4) [Characteristics mentioned above]” (ITO, 2016 p.7). A deflationary trap in which the economy happens to be in a chronic underperforming economy whereas there is no conventional monetary policy which could stimulate the demand.

In order to change the Japanese path which was merged into the stagnation and deflation for several years, the year of 2012 was a quite inflexion point to the expectations among the Nippon’s economic future. Shinzo Abe was elected to be prime minister late that year. Mr. Abe once was the chief of Japanese government between autumn 2006 and autumn 2007 and his return to lead the politics of Japan was made possible and has a great emphasis to reactivate the economy.

A series of fiscal and monetary policies was proposed in early 2013. The government engage changes in fiscal policy and planned structural reforms.

Together with the Bank of Japan’s aggressive monetary easing, this policy package is known as “Abenomics.” (HAUSMAN AND WIELAND, 2014).

A preliminary analysis was made in 2014 to visualize the effects of the short-term consequences of “Abenomics”. The first data confirmed the end of deflation in 2013 and an increase in further inflation’s expectation.

The policies caused a positive effect on consumption and showed a positive perspective to a near future of an economy that grew 0.8% between 1993 and 2012. In this period the price levels fluctuated around negative rates since 1998.

“Abenomics” has been known as the nickname to the radical economic program of changes in the Japanese economy made by Mr. Abe3. The proposal,

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despite being presented by the government, required the Bank of Japan (BoJ) to accept the new program, since the central bank had become independent in 1998.

The economic program which boosts Government election had been settled on three fronts: 1) Monetary expansion; 2) Fiscal stimulus and 3) Structural reforms. These three aspects began to be referred to as the “Three Arrows”.

The first arrow known in Abenomics is a monetary policy unprecedented directed to pull up demand and force the economy away from the 15 years of deflation.

The prime minister, once his cabinet was formed, pressured the BoJ to agree to an inflation-targeting framework committing to adopt an inflation-target of 2% (Bank of Japan, 2013a). After spending the campaign blaming the precedent government and the current BoJ head (appointed by that government) as the responsible for the Japanese economic stagnation, Abe appointed Haruhiko Kuroda to be the new governor of the Japanese central bank, this one aligned to the Abenomics.

The second Abenomics arrow happened to be flexibility to fiscal policies. A fiscal stimulus equivalent to 2% of the current GDP or around 10 trillion yen was approved by the Diet (Japanese Parliament) early 2013 complementing the one year before supplementary budget approved by the Diet (ITO, 2013). In spite on the stimulus been dwarfed by tax increases, the consumption taxes rose from 5% to 8% in the spring of 2014.

Ultimately, the structural reforms, the last arrow, consisted in measures to increase the Japanese potential output growth. Still the most subjective of the three arrows it was proposed to lighten labor market rigidities, improve utility deregulation and reduced protection to the agriculture. In other hand, the aggressive monetary policy was the clearest arrow in Abenomics proposals. Spite of this had not been the first attempt to unconventional monetary policy, this was by far the most aggressive (BANK OF JAPAN, 2013b).

After Abenomics accomplished one year since it started it was clear that the government was fighting to increase the inflation expectations with the first two arrows. Since it happened a few years after the Subprime Crisis, and Europe was facing problems close to those of Japan.
Once the unconventional policies of Abenomics gave positive results, it could give Europe and USA a monetary perception of its experience (HAUSMAN AND WIELAND, 2014).

Bernanke commented in the Hausman and Wieland preliminary analysis of Abenomics (HAUSMAN AND WIELAND, 2014) that the triumph of Abenomics was created by the government and not by BoJ.

The government showed concrete decisions to make POLICIES REACH THE GOALS. Some of them were the possibility to change the STATUS OF independence of BoJ and the 2% inflation target. These decisions were aligned with its commitment against the rhetorical ideas of the Japanese inflation was not a monetary phenomenon.

Mishkin (2004) commented the change expectations take some time and for it the central banks must earn credibility to achieve it.

According to what Paul Volcker experienced, when he was FED’s Central Banker, inflations expectations does not change suddenly, even though he accomplished it a few years later by doubling the Interest Rate. The great challenge was BoJ change inflation expectations with interest rates at zero lower bound, appointed Donald Kohn (HAUSMAN AND WIELAND, 2014).

Despite the inflation expectations rose, forecasts remained below the 2% target and remembering, it is difficult to change the expectations and the Japanese observers doubt the effectiveness of quantitative easing and its effects on inflation and GDP output (HAUSMAN AND WIELAND, 2015).

Abenomics’ consequences are yet to be totally seen. The Covid-19 pandemic and the step down of Shinzo Abe as prime minister leaves a doubt whether his politics will fulfill its objectives, however by the end of the 2020s Abenomics managed the expectations, and the inflation went to the path of the target and the aggregated demand, declined the unemployment, and turned the GDP output positive implying excess demand (ITO, 2021).

Observing everything that was exposed, the subject of this paper is precisely referenced to Macroeconomics approaching economic policies either monetary or fiscal policies, the bases of the mainstream economic policies. Aiming to comprehend whether the Abenomics improved economic activity in Japan, among the theoretical framework reviewed, it is paramount to have an overview of Japanese economy years before the Abenomics, the years that led to
Abenomics policies. Notwithstanding Abenomics realize its maneuvers explicitly, the central point is the real consequences of the policies proposed by the Japanese cabinet at late 2012.

Therefore, the choice of a selected literature makes feasible to understand Abenomics proposals and its consequences.

III. Assessment Regarding the Literature

Japan’s economic development in the sixties and seventies brought a great amount of attention to its dynamism, nonetheless the economy of Japan used to have a chapter in every book of macroeconomics. After it’s economics crisis and the rise of China, Japan’s impetus began to be overshadowed by its neighbor. Since Japanese economy has been stagnated for the last two and a half decades, among a persistent deflation process, publications related to Japanese economy that once was in every macroeconomic manual book as a great example of economic growth gave space to articles what was in sight of Japanese authorities to surpass the deflation process and reinstate economic growth.

Despite its public debt beyond 200% of GDP, population shrinking and the stagnation and deflation process, it still is the third major economy in the world, and no other economy seems to threaten its current position.

To investigate the literatura, we used the Scopus Database to identify the material that will be deeply analyzed.

According to Scopus database, after the 1997 crisis, disseminations of Japan’s economy began to rise.
Although the disseminations of the Japanese Economy had a great number of publications, as can be observed in figure 1, documents published regarding Abenomics did not achieve the same path, mainly because the policies were promoted less than a decade ago. Therefore, reviews and recent publications are yet to recall the major impacts of Abenomics.

There are not many publications regarding Abenomics impacts, and most studies are published by the Japanese or the Americans. The most affiliations publishing documents of Abenomics are in The University of Tokyo and Keio University. The authors Takatoshi Ito and J. K. Hausman became a great inspiration to write about this subject, alongside a great opportunity to acquire knowledge of Japan’s economic status nowadays.
The figure above presents a horizontal bar chart the authors who have published more than two documents regarding “Abenomics” and its assessment. Takatoshi Ito displays among the most publishers regarding the policies of the former PM Shinzo Abe. Joshua K Hausman figures among the non-Japanese publishers that most writes to the academy regarding “Abenomics”.

The figure 3 shows a horizontal bar chart the institutions that had published more than two documents regarding the “Abenomics” policies. University of Tokyo, Keio University and Waseda University are the institutions that has published the most documents. The Australian National University, Stanford University, Columbia University and Yonsei University are the universities outside Japan that most contributed with articles about the “Abenomics” in the academy.
Figure 3 – Published Documents Regarding “Abenomics” by Institution – Top 15

Source: Scopus 2022

Figure 4 presents a historical line chart containing the evolution of publications year by year regarding “Abenomics” subject. Since the first complete year after the “Abenomics” there were published more than 10 documents per year, except the year of 2019 that was only higher than 5.

Figure 4 – Published Documents Regarding “Abenomics” by year – Top 15

Source: Scopus 2022
The figure 5 displays a word map containing the keywords regarding the “Abenomics” computed by an algorithm via VOSViewer Software combining the documents regarding “Abenomics” among the Scopus databases.

Figure 5 – Keywords Map

Source – Author’s Elaboration assisted by VOSViewer software 2022 using Scopus data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AUTHOR</th>
<th>ARTICLE</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
<th>CONCLUSION</th>
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<tr>
<td>(SHIBATA, 2017)</td>
<td>Re-packaging old policies? ‘Abenomics’ and the lack of an alternative growth model for Japan’s political economy.</td>
<td>This article's objective intends to evaluate the outputs promoted by the Abenomics policies its goals, achievements, and mistakes.</td>
<td>The controversial arrows contributed to shift up the economy in the short-middle term, however, does not solve the weak demand and lack privet consumption problem nor the long-term solid economic growth.</td>
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<td>(ITO, 2016)</td>
<td>JAPANIZATION: IS IT ENDEMIC OR EPIDEMIC?</td>
<td>The article's objective is to present a definition comparing the causes and consequences of the current Japanese economic scenario called &quot;Japanization&quot; and comparing it with UK, US, and Euro Zone.</td>
<td>Japanization occurred because of large financial shocks combined with a particular set of policies. If it is important to avoid Japanization, there are set of policies toward the objective. So far, the US and the UK seemed to have escaped Japanization. As of this writing, the Euro Zone economy seems to be still at risk.</td>
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<td>(ITO, 2021)</td>
<td>An Assessment of Abenomics: Evolution and Achievements.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ito's paper affirms that the first two arrows managed to stimulate deaggregated demand, even though lower than expected. For the third arrow, it was not completely executed keeping the supply standing still.</td>
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<td>(MIYAZAKI, 2019)</td>
<td>A ECONOMIA POLÍTICA DA POLÍTICA COMERCIAL JAPONESA: DAS PROPOSTAS DE INTEGRAÇÃO O ECONÔMICA AO TRATADO DE PARCERIA DO PACÍFICO (TPP).</td>
<td>This paper evaluates the Japanese commercial policies regarding the Transpacific Partnership Agreement and the Japanese inflexible points to protect the national agriculture while the Abenomics third arrow tries to promote a liberalization in the domestic market.</td>
<td>Even though Japan was the latest nation to join the TPP discussion, once USA stepped out, Japan became the leader of the negotiation, in an attempt to promote its economic growth and enforce its economic dominance in the region face the Chinese growing dominance.</td>
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<td>(WIELAND AND HAUSMAN, 2014)</td>
<td>Abenomics: Preliminary Analysis and Outlook</td>
<td>This paper objective is to provide a preliminary evaluation on the first year of the Abenomics policies implemented in Japan, focusing in the first two arrows, aiming to increase inflation and economic growth.</td>
<td>Abenomics, and expansionary monetary policy, continued to weaken the yen and raise stock prices. It also continued to generate positive inflation, though neither actual nor expected inflation is yet 2 percent. The real effects of Abenomics have been modest.</td>
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<td>(WIELAND AND HAUSMAN, 2015)</td>
<td>Overcoming the Lost Decades? Abenomics after Three Years</td>
<td>This paper evaluates Abenomics consequences three years after its beginning. The performance regarding increasing aggregated demand, inflation expectations, reduction of the output gap and economic growth, having in sight what was written in 2014.</td>
<td>Focusing in the first two arrows, since the third one was not implemented by the time this paper was released, the Abenomics effects were smaller than it was expected to be. Since 2013 the growth forecasts declined and the inflation expectation went up just a little, far away from the 2% target from BoJ.</td>
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<td>(DE MICHELIS AND IACOLIELLO, 2016)</td>
<td>Raising an Inflation Target: The Japanese Experience with Abenomics</td>
<td>This paper objective is to comprehend the effects of the increase of inflation target during a liquidity trap assessing the policies brought by the Japanese government called Abenomics.</td>
<td>To succeed achieving the inflation target the inflation expectations among the agents must increase. The main point observed by this paper, is that credibility by the monetary authority is paramount to reach the objective, assessing the steps the authorities are taking to determine the inflation target.</td>
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<td>(ANAND et al, 2019)</td>
<td>Achieving the Bank of Japan’s Inflation Target</td>
<td>This paper assesses via scenarios made by FPSA (Forecasting and Policy Analysis System) the likelihood to Japan achieve its 2% inflation target and assess why it is a hard assessment.</td>
<td>The paper analyzed that only the monetary policy is not sufficient to boost aggregated demand and generate price pressure having the output gap. Coordination between policies packages and credibility on the monetary authority are needed to increase the likelihood of reaching the inflation target.</td>
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<td>(FUKUDA, 2015)</td>
<td>Abenomics: Why was it so successful in changing market expectations?</td>
<td>The purpose of this paper is to investigate why the markets reacted to the new regime so favorably. Unlike orthodox arguments, we focus on asymmetric behavior between local and foreign investors after December 2012.</td>
<td>Abenomics had a significant effect only on nighttime changes even if they were revealed in daytime. Noting that foreign investors tend to trade in Japan nighttime, it suggests that the dramatic market responses under Abenomics happened only in time zones when foreign investors were active. Overconfidence among foreign investors and pessimistic views among local investors may explain the asymmetry. Although we need further data and evidence, it will be an important research agenda to see why foreign investors reacted to Abenomics so favorably.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(SU et al, 2018)</td>
<td>TOO MUCH OR LESS? MONEY SUPPLY IN JAPAN</td>
<td>This paper objective is to assesses the efficiency regarding the Japanese monetary policies via Quantitative Easing</td>
<td>By using the recursive unit root tests, the paper concluded that the Japanese economy do not possess excessive liquidity nor the potential to produce severe inflation. Nevertheless, there is no monetary bubble and is still possible to stimulate the economy via increasing the money supply.</td>
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</table>
Abenomics at a Glance

Japan has been in the vanguard of the macroeconomics challenges among the developed countries. Since the end of the 1990s the western country is struggling to return to the economic growth path. Japanese economic case is known for the “lost two decades”, from 1992 to 2012. The GDP of the period remained stagnated and from 1998 to 2012 the country fell into a deflationary status. The conventional monetary policy, according to the neo classical theory to reduce economic activity and inflation in the beginning of the 1990 by increasing the interest rate, turned to the unconventional monetary policy in the end of the 1990s, just after the bank crisis in Japan (1997 and 1998) erupted Japan began the ZIRP (Zero Interest Rate Policy), bringing its interest rate to zero to stimulate aggregated demand. (ITO, 2016).

Since the characteristics appeared all together in Japan and created a unique scenario for the macroeconomics analysis, Takatoshi Ito, simplified it calling this phenomenon "Japanization". Via a quantitative and qualitative analysis from data obtained from Bank of Japan (BoJ), Bank of England (BoE), Federal Reserve (FED) and European Central Bank (ECB), to define exactly what Japanization is in four main characteristics and to compare with other developed countries analyzing whether if one of them could potentially be “turning Japanese” developing the characteristics to face Japanization.

Figure 6 - Japan and US Nominal GDP

Source: (ITO, Takatoshi. Japanization Is It Endemic or Epidemic, 2016)
The Bank Crisis from 1997-1998 in Japan, promoted by the burst of the asset bubble, shrunk the economic activities, impacting the aggregated demand and supply. As consequences, the economic growth remained below the potential growth culminating in stagnant growth, the first definer of “Japanization”.

Since 1992 the Japan economy became stagnated. Beyond the stagnant growth, the aggregated demand was below the aggregated supply because the real interest rate was high. Even though the nominal interest rate was Zero, the country was facing a deflation scenario and the natural real rate of interest is below than the actual one. The agents did not have any reason to change its expectations, simply because the real interest rate would be continuing rising, therefore, the stagnation advances through time, becoming the Secular Stagnation, the second definer of “Japanization”.

The third main topic to determine “Japanization” is the Zero Interest Rate Policy (ZIRP), where the central banks define the nominal interest rate at or near zero, executing the ultimate conventional monetary policy tool in terms of easing interest rates. Ito emphasizes that Japan was the vanguard on ZIRP back in the 1990s, whether the G7 countries would implement it only in 2008 after the Subprime Crisis.
Deflation is the last item to define the “Japanization” status. All these characteristics together promotes a continuous underperforming economy and chronic deflation, that according to Ito there is no conventional monetary policy that can stimulate the demand and change the inflation expectations from the agents.

Ito in his paper from 2016 “Japanization is it endemic or epidemic” showed what was called the “Japanization Index”. A formula that calculates the sum of the GDP gap, inflation rate and the nominal short-term interest rate. The lower the result, the nearer the country may be from the Japanization. Once the index is negative the country is in Japanization or in the deflationary trap. Ito presented the calculation to Japan, Germany, UK, US, and Euro Area. Back in 2015, the Euro Area was the closest one to achieve the Japanization Status, according the Japanization Index.

![Japanization Index](image)

**Source:** (ITO, Takatoshi. Japanization Is It Endemic or Epidemic, 2016)

Takatoshi Ito concludes that the Japanization happens after several financial shocks and a particular set of policies. The bank crisis, the Subprime crisis and the Tohoku Tsunami and Earthquake, alongside the lack of coordination between policies drove Japan to remain in the stagnation status. It was also noted that after 2008 until 2015 Japan, Euro Area, US, and UK remained with de ZIRP and kept reducing the Japanization Index, therefore the conventional monetary
policy took in place in the advanced world was not able to stimulate the economy to step out of the stagnation.

Ito sees the Abenomics as the set of policies that can de facto push the Japanese economy back to the economic growth path again, since the conventional monetary policies was not able by itself to lift the economy out of the secular stagnation. The unconventional policies or neo-Keynesian policies to stimulate demand called the Quantitative and Qualitative Easing and the inflation target defined, alongside the structural reforms promoted by Shinzo Abe, should stimulate aggregated demand and supply sides.

**Assessments on Abenomics**

Shinzo Abe was elected Prime Minister (PM) in December 2012 promising an aggressive change to the economic scenario in Japan. The election was based on measures the cabinet would pursue to reinstate the economic growth and the end of deflation. It was called the “three arrows” of Abenomics.

The first arrow is a form of quantitative and qualitative easing (QQE). The BoJ release in January 2013 introduced the “Price Stability” Target and the “Open-Ended Asset Purchasing Method”. The monetary authority pushed by the government set a price stability target at 2 percent annual of the consumer price index (CPI). In order to achieve the target set, the bank decided to thrive the monetary easing by: (i) buying a certain amount of financial assets every month without an end date in a way that the monetary base should increase up to 60 trillion yen per year; (ii) increase the annual purchase of Japanese Government Bonds up to 50 trillion yen intending to decline the interest rates across the yield curve; and (iii) increase the purchase of ETFs to an annual pace of 1 trillion yen and Japan real estate investments trusts (J-REITs) to an annual pace of 30 billion yen to low the risk premia of the assets prices. (BoJ, 2013a and b). The forward guidance of the BoJ is that the bank would continue with the qualitative and quantitative easing for as long as it should be necessaire to achieve the two percent inflation target.

By the spring of 2014 Joshua K. Hausman and Johannes F. Wieland published what was considered the first assessment of Abenomics, even though it
was a preliminary analysis, called “Abenomics: Preliminary Analysis and Outlook”. Since it was published in the early 2014, the data evaluate the impact of the Abenomics within its first year, therefore analyzing data of interest rate, inflation, financial market indexes, output, its expectations and forecasts, the paper’s main contribution presents the reactions provoked by the beginning of Abenomics.

The measures took by Abenomics impact directly the Financial Markets perceptions and its expectations. The JGB purchase announced by the BoJ in 2013 pressed their yields downwards. Despite the two-years government bond suffered a little change, the long-term yields, those of 10-years and 30-years yield from 2012 to 2014 has a significant fallen. The 10-years bond dropped 21 basis points.

Figure 9 - Japanese Government Bond Yield – Nominal Yields Percent

Source: (WIELAND AND HAUSMANN, Abenomics Preliminary Analysis and Outlook, 2014).

Note: the vertical red line begins in November 2012, period of the Abenomics beginning.
Following the fall of the JGB yields, the inflation expectation measured by the interest rate of parity grew from 0.8 percent in late 2012 to 1.9 percent in early 2014. The authors confirmed their primarily expectations, that despite the growth of the long-term inflation expectations it only grew 1 percentage point. Alongside the low nominal interest rate and rise of expected inflation, the quantitative easing moved the exchange rate, depreciating the yen against the dollar. Between January 2012 and October 2012, the average exchange rate was 79 yen per dollar. In May 2013 the exchange rate stepped up to 103 yen per dollar. Accompanied the depreciation of the yen, the stock market reacted promptly to the announcement made by the BoJ. Looking through the same period of the exchange rate showed above, the Nikkei 225 (Japanese stock market index) rose 65 percent and the Topix (index of the first section of the Japanese companies from the Tokyo exchange market) rose 63 percent.
Despite all the changes happened in the very beginning of Abenomics, the comment on credibility of the Bank of Japan was jeopardized by the former policies that kept Japan a long time stagnated. In early 1999 the BoJ started the ZIRP and stated in their forward guidance that the policy should remain the same until deflation was turned around, however in the middle 2000 the interest rate was elevated to 0,25%, the same year the inflation dropped 0,7 percent. Back in 2001 Japan began the QE (Quantitative Easing) policy and the forward guidance was to end the program once the monetary authority achieved a positive rate for inflation. By the time they arrived, in 2006, they ended the QE and 12 months from March 2006 the CPI excluding fresh foods dropped 0,3 percent. Wieland and Hausmann brought to their paper a quotation made by Joseph Gagnon in the Wall Street journal that the BoJ used to support the politicians’ actions, but they do nothing. In May 2013 the governor of the BoJ resigned and despite the new governor, Mr. Kuroda⁴, was well accepted by the market, it did not change the confidence on the institution. Furthermore, beyond the BoJ itself, the demography

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⁴ Haruhiko Kuroda is the current BoJ governor. He was the president of the Asian Development Bank. Kuroda also was the deputy minister of Finance for International Affairs and General Director of the International Bureau.
and pension system jeopardize the credibility of the institution. Since the Japanese pensions are indexed to CPI and the indexation of a negative reading does not occur the same time it would happen if the CPI was positive, there are real gains for having bank deposits. Half of the Japanese populations keeps its financial wealth in bank deposits.

On behalf of the inflation. It was noticed that the CPI (Customer Price Index) for Japan rose after March 2013. From the election of PM Abe to the end of 2013, the CPI rose 1,6 percent. Despite is sown the Abenomics reverted the deflation scenario, most of the inflation process was due to the yen depreciation. Since the depreciation will have a temporary impact on the CPI for the adjustments on the relative prices are going to balance, it is expected that the inflation expectations to change the inflation path is driven mostly by the domestic market. Wieland and Hausman assess the domestic factor to pressure prices, the change in credibility of BoJ and real wages increase, the policy expected for the third arrow of Abenomics. The same ideas are brought by Saori Shibata (Shibata, 2017) and Shin-ichi Fukuda (Fukuda, 2015), that will be further discussed. Since there was in sight a tax consumption hike in 2014 the forecasters expectations changed, plunging the inflation expectation downwards and by the beginning of 2014 the overall CPI and core CPI (CPI without energy and fresh foods prices) fell, remaining to contain inflation the credibility of the BoJ.

Forecasts published in the World Economic Outlook from IMF (International Monetary Fund) and from OCED (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) estimated that the Japan output gap was -0,9 percent and 1,1 percent respectively. Right after the Abenomics engaged the GDP grew in a better performance than it was in 2012. The economy grew 1,5 percent in 2013. However, analyzing the performance in a quarterly basis, there’s a negative trend. The most notably difference is the net exports. The exports contribution to the real GDP growth that was 2,4 percentage points, fell to 0,2 percentage points, from the first to the last quarter of 2013, in annual basis. In opposite direction, the imports contribution fell from -0,7 percentage point to -2,4 respectively. Such movement, according to Hausman and Wieland happened because the Japanese exports are price to market. They are set by the exporters in foreign currency, therefore a change in the exchange rate, shall not contribute to a short-term change
in the prices of the exports. The authors affirms that the Japanese export quantities are inelastic to changes in exchange rate for the kind of products exported.

Having in sight what was discussed by the authors above, they conclude that this preliminary analysis showed a little impact of the new monetary regime in GDP growth and to close the output gap. The deflation problem will only be addressed with a combined monetary and fiscal policies that can change the inflation expectations, and for it to happen, the BoJ credibility must be restored. The consumption tax implemented in 2014, will have unexpected results to the private consumption and will impact on the aggregated demand somehow. As last, Wieland and Hausmann conclude that structural reforms need to be placed for a long-term growth, therefore, the third arrow of Abenomics, must be the one to have the largest effects. And that all the changes promoted, whether be a success or not, they are the first experience of this kind and may change the way, countries face the ZIRP once they are caught in a liquidity trap.

**Immediate impacts of Abenomics**

After the paper published in 2014 assessing the Abenomics preliminary achievements, Joshua Hausman and Johannes Wieland repeated the assessment in late 2015 evaluating the Abenomics policies three years later, called “Overcoming the Lost Decades? Abenomics after Three Years.” (Hausman & Wieland, 2015).

Maintaining the faithfulness in the forward guidance of 2013, the BoJ expanded the monetary base from 25 percent of the GDP from the last quarter of 2012 up to 57 percent of the GDP in the first quarter of 2015. By the same time, the bank bought 127 trillion yen of JGB, a quarter of the GDP.

In October 2014 BoJ expanded the QQE to 80 trillion yen per year in increasing monetary base, instead the 60 to 70 trillion proposed in 2013. The movement made the yean even weaker. From 102 per dollar in March 2014 to 123 yen per dollar in August 2015. The stock market reacted promptly and the Topix index that rose 62 percent from late 2013 to early 2014, rose another 36 percent from March 2014 to August 2015.

Despite the 3-percentage point in tax consumption increase in April 2014 (5% to 8%), the CPI advanced in the positive rate. Even though it has not achieved the BoJ’s 2 percent target, the overall CPI rose 0,2 percent, while the core CPI
(CPI excluding fresh food and energy) rose 0.6 percent. The firm inflation measured by the BoJ survey showed that inflation expectations for 1 and 10-years was below the target. One of the points brought by the authors to show the lack of respond to the inflation expectations is the nominal wage growth the mains cause and effect of inflation. Since the beginning of Abenomics there was no significant increase in incomes. Therefore, with the rise of inflation, the real earnings have declined. It happened for the increase participation of lower-paid part-time employees, that pulled down average earnings even for the full-time workers. The inflation expectation among firms regarding their own products went bellow the expected. The companies in June 2015 told they were expecting to raise their products prices in 0.9 percent to the next year, reiterating the reluctance of the firms to increase nominal wage.

From 2012 to 2013 the real GDP grew 2.3 percent. Meanwhile from the last quarter of 2012 to the second quarter of 2015 the real GDP grew 2.2 percent. By the time Abenomics begun until the second quarter of 2015 the Japanese population fell 0.5 percent. While the GDP grew 2.2 percent from the last quarter of 2014 to the second quarter of 2015 the GDP per capita grew 2.7 percent, indicating that the economy is growing far under what was expected. If the GDP was a proud achievement, the consumption and net exports was quite disappointing. The consumption in the second quarter of 2015 was 0.6 percent lower than in the last quarter of 2012, and the exports was outperformed by imports.

Wieland and Hausmann reiterates the lack of credibility among the observers to the effectiveness of the QE policy, from what was said a year ago (Wieland and Hausman, 2014). The agents whether doubts on the effectiveness of the QE or they doubt on the willingness of the politicians to keep the QE.

The authors concluded that despite the growing impacts on interest rate, inflation expectation and real exchange rate happened in the direction they were expected to go, the intensity is far beyond the ideal, therefore the real impacts of the first two arrows were small. Since the third arrow is the one focused on structural reforms, they are the best shot to have a great impact in the long-term economic growth in Japan. The Transpacific Partnership may be the “great scape” from the slowly growth that has been seen until 2015, for it need the liberalization of the agricultural sector in Japan, which can reduce the food prices.
According to the point of view of Wieland and Hausman, Andrea De Michelis and Matteo Iacoviello from the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve system published a paper regarding the Japanese case study whether the country managed the inflation target (Michelis & Iacoviello, 2016). The paper called “Raising an Inflation Target: The Japanese Experience with Abenomics” present via the Vector Autoregression (VAR) the estimated effects of inflation target shock alongside with the new-Keynesian model with inertial inflation behavior and imperfect credibility, the Dynamic Stochastic General Equilibrium (DSGE).

The authors argues that the BoJ needed to be clearer in their forward guidance, to increase its credibility for the institution must be facing issues regarding credibility, since it has been a long-time fighting deflation.

The VAR estimative was conceived with a formula that has a 5 variable vector error correction model with core inflation, bank’s lending, interest rate, real exchange rate, GDP, and real oil prices, within a period from 1974 to 2015, divided in two periods, 1974 to 1993 and 1994 to 2015. The division was decided for the second sample to be analyzed within a period of core inflation below 1 percent.

It was tested an inflation shock of two percentage points on the two samples. In the first one, from 1974 to 1993, the inflation shock provoked a rise in the real interest rate, a real appreciation and a small rise of the GDP. Meanwhile the sample with data from 1994 to 2015, the shock by the inflation, since the interest rate are near to zero, promotes the real exchange rate to depreciate. The GDP is booted more significantly than the first sample.

With the DSGE for open economies, the authors model showed that with the ZIRP the GDP should grow 3 percent above the baseline once the two percent target inflation is achieved. Therefore, once the economy is in liquidity trap, the inflation target shock shall significantly increase the output for completely credibility of the agent. However, once the observer is under imperfect credibility, the inflation target shock doesn’t achieve the same impact in the output.

The authors concluded with a remarkable qualitative impression regarding the inflation target. The model presents the difficulty on guiding inflation expectations once the agents faced asymmetrical knowledge regarding the central bank’s direction and the authors reached that credibility of the central bank is
given and exogenous. Therefore, it is presented that policymakers and central bankers are constantly confronted with credibility, and the lack of it can jeopardize the effectiveness of the policies.

In other hand, while the Abenomics failed to change the inflation expectations, the foreign investor changed quite quickly their Japanese market expectations. (Fukuda, 2015). Analyzing data from the Japanese stock market, especially the operations data from the NIKKEI 225, Fukuda showed that after any news regarding Abenomics, by the daytime analysis in the Japanese stock market showed significant movements the night before, when the eastern market is open, and investors are trading. Revealing that the foreign investor saw optimistic opportunities in the Japanese market.

Critics to Abenomics

Saori Shibata wrote in 2017 several critics to the Abenomics policies, questioning if they were not the revival of policies that was already taken. (Shibata, 2017). Differently from those who have written about Abenomics before her, she was the most scathing criticist of the policies affirming that Abenomics represented a hazard against the economic future of Japan, in the paper “Re-packaging old policies? ‘Abenomics’ and the lack of an alternative growth model for Japan's political economy”. She gathered socio-economic data from the Minitry of Health, Labour and Welfare, from the Cabinet Office, OECD, and union trades to show the negative impacts of the Abenomics comparing them with other policies taken before.

The first criticism is addressed to the first arrow, the Bold Monetary Policy, regarding the decline in the wage. It is showed that regular workers have had a rise in their income, whether the non-regular workers had their wages diminished. The regular ones had an increase of 0,6 percent in May 2015, meanwhile the non-regular ones had a drop of 0,7 percent. There was no expansion in the long-term jobs, while the shot-term increased through the Abenomics period. The investment rate I the fiscal year of 2014 stood between -0,4 and 0 percent. It is also reminded that despite the private investment increased 2,7 percent within some sectors, such as automotive, the depreciation pressured the costs of imports and reduced the appetite for consumption.
Saori says that PM ABE introduced a Keynesian tool to stimulate the aggregated demand, therefore enhance inflation expectations, growth and spending, nevertheless what was seen is a highly difficult challenge to turn around the agents’ expectations, failing to achieve the inflation target and a income obstacles that perpetuated the low consumption.

The second arrow was criticized for not being completely engaged as it was promised. The government proposed an increase of 2 percent of the GDP in the supplementary budget from 2013, meanwhile it spend only 1 percent. The fiscal policy increases the debt to GDP ratio to 226 percent of the GDP in 2014.

The tax hike in consumption in April 2014 pulled off the domestic customers shrinking the consumption pressing the economic growth to the stagnation. The 3-percentage points tax hike was to be directed to be spent with pension, social insurance, and healthcare, but the negative impact jeopardized the destination.

Shibata presents Wieland and Hausman as defendants of the Abenomics and whose emphasizes its importance to be seen as the right policies. However, she even shows a division between the Ministry of Finance, which rather prefers to cut spending, versus the Cabinet Office which was determined to make the economy grow even if that meant to prejudice the fiscal consolidation.

The controversy created around the tax hike proved to be a breaking point within the government and brought doubt to the effectiveness of the policy. It was needed to increase the government incomes however it would reduce consumer spending. By the end of the debate, the fiscal policy promised to be expansionary, became contractionary. The increase of tax consumption and the termination of fiscal stimulus brought Japan back to recession in the end of early 2014.

The third arrow meant to be focused on structural reforms was seen as the Abenomics greatest policy. Flexibilising the labor market and working practices, opening the labor market to foreigners, and promoting the woman in the labor market was the social part of the arrow. It also should promote the reduction of corporate taxes, improve corporate governance, encourage venture capital and innovation through technology. Such reforms should open space for the liberalization in the agricultural sector a mandate to participate the Transpacific Partnership. In summary the third arrow should create space for sector intensive in R&D, such as energy, healthcare, and environment, aiming to revitalize and
innovate small and medium enterprises and local cities, and promote bold reforms in the regional economies.

Saori affirmed that the Keynesian remedies promoted by the first two arrows of Abenomics barely impacted the economic growth, the liberalization of the third one seeks to destabilize the labor market jeopardizing all three arrows’ objectives.

She concludes by saying that are three groups of commentators through the Abenomics existing literature. (i) those who highlights the unconventional demand-oriented alternative instead the neo classical alternatives (Krugman, Posen and Hausman); (ii) the ones that agrees with the Abenomics proposals (Fukao, Katz and OECD), and (iii) the group that rose concerns regarding the Abenomics structural reforms that can harm the labor market (Ito, Wolf, Roberts, Yamada, and Hirano). The unequal distribution of wealth among the Japanese workers undermines the policies proposed, thus instead of being an alternative growth model, the neoliberal policies of Abenomics threats the Japanese economic stability.

Regarding the third arrow, the structural reforms to be promoted in the liberalization in the agricultural industries should be the great policy to change the economic path in Japan to make the changes necessaire to join the Transpacific Partnership (TPP) (Hausman & Wieland, 2015). In 2019 a thesis was published by Silvio Miyazaki regarding the proposals of economic integration of the TPP having in sight the Japanese trade policy. (SILVIO YOSHIRO MIZUGUCHI MIYAZAKI A Economia Política Da Política Comercial Japonesa: Das Propostas de Integração Econômica Ao Tratado de Parceria Do Pacífico (TPP), 2019).

By using Japanese commercial data regarding foreign affairs, and different types of trade agreements, mainly in the Asian pacific area, (Miyazaki, 2019), presents how does Japan has been in pursue to maintain and expand its trade relationships through the region and shift the domestic economy, being the TPP the larger and most important trade deal within the Pacific.

Until 1997 Japan did not have its foreign trade policy drive to any special partnership agreement. Before the 1990s, the economic growth among the countries of the region was in a higher path than in other regions, therefore the Japanese government did not consider making that kind agreements to assure bilateral commercial, hence demand to its production for the market forces should
manage it. Right after the burst of the bank crisis in 1997, the scenario in has changed. The economic crises spread throughout the region. The US did not support the countries impacted by the financial crisis, leaving for Japan the role for it. Thailand, Philippines, Malaysia, and South Korea received financial aid from Japan to restore its economies and Japan needed to open itself to gather partners. In the year of 2002 the first trade agreement was sign with Singapore for a special partnership agreement.

Through the recession of 2010, the Japanese government saw the TPP as an opportunity, and showed willingness to join the TPP, however only in 2013 under PM Abe, Japan decided to join the negotiations for the agreement. According to the author, the willingness to sign these kinds of deals is that beyond the trade agreements powers to shift the economy, it is a great opportunity to launch domestic structural reforms and open the protected sectors, having in sight that within an international trade deal, it is harder to reverse the domestic decisions. The rational of the Abe’s government to join the TPP was that it could assist to bring to Japan the structural reforms proposed by the third arrow. These reasons led to a better comprehension on why Japan decided to lead the TPP negotiations after the US stepped out.

Despite all the efforts to the liberalization of the agricultural market and industry, a lobby from the producers and industrials regarding a couple of products remained untouched in the negotiations regarding the reduction of imports fee. Even though Japan has more than 9000 lines for import taxes, 20% of them are from the agricultural sector, and 99% of these agricultural products are in the exclusion list not to be negotiated within any trade agreement. Rice, wheat, beef, pig meat, dairy section and sugar the called sacred products. Even though the imports fees are low for most of the products, for those called sacred products the fees are stratospheric. According to the World Bank, the rice fee was of 768,36%. Wheat seed has a fee of 206,75%. Bovine and pork offal was taxed in 739,08% and some dairy section products had a fee of 705,08%. A firm indicator that these sectors are shielded by the government pressing the domestic prices of these products, since they do not have foreign competitors.

Miyazaki concludes sharing a positive point of view when compared to the shared by (Shibata, 2017). The interest from the Japanese government to the TPP is to de facto stablish the structural changes proposed by the Abenomics and by
expanding the trade agreements should amplify its economic dominance through the region and enhance the domestic economic dynamics, by turning the domestic producers more efficient and reducing the cost of imports, even though there are some products that are going to be protected by the government, the government expects the trade to support the economic growth and its economic interest in the Asia Pacific region.

The latest assessment on Abenomics was the “An Assessment of Abenomics Evolution and Achievements” (Ito, 2021). The Author assess the Abenomics policies focusing in the first two arrow, since the third once was never fully implemented. Comparison along the time Abenomics was implemented of interest rates, inflation rates and expectations, exchange rates and financial market movements until 2020 made part to achieve the objective of the paper.

Despite the efforts made by the BoJ and government policies, the inflation never reached to its target, even though from 2013 until 2019 it reached the positive rates most of the time.

Figure 12 - Inflation Movement from 2009 to 2020

Source: (Ito, takatoshi, An Assessment of Abenomics Evolution and Achievements, 2021)

Note: The thicker black vertical line presents de beginning of Abenomics
The price levels measured by the CPI started to drop by the second half of 2016 and kept its path up to 2016. The inflation excluding fresh foods and energy fell from 1.2% in late 2015 to -0.1% in early 2017. The main explanation for the stiffed drop is the energy prices shock. Even though the CPI excluding energy prices does not take into account the direct effect of the fall of the energy prices, there are indirect impacts from energy over many consumption items. The crude oil price dropped from 100 dollars per barrel in middle of 2014 to 30 dollars per barrel in early 2016. Since the energy prices are not under BoJ’s control, the monetary policies cannot be responsible for the deflation process caused by the fall of oil prices.

In early 2016 the BoJ adopted the Negative Interest Rate Policy (NIRP), following the path of the ECB and the central banks of Sweden and Switzerland, the market reaction was promptly lowering the government bonds yield, achieving negative territory. After the announcement the yen depreciated and the stock prices rose, however, one week after the yen appreciated 3% and the stock prices reduced 4%.

Surveys showed that the inflation expectations that used to present a little grow until late 2014, became declining ever after. By the end of 2019 the inflation expectations on surveys were below 1%. The BoJ explained the inflation expectations follows an adaptive expectation process. To believe that more inflation is coming one must be seeing inflation, and since the deflation process was pressing down Japanese prices for 20 years, changing those expectations was a great challenge. And since the BoJ attempts to bring inflation back over the 20 years of inflation failed, the bank had a credibility issue to instigate a positive inflation expectation.

Even though the inflation target was not reached along the Abenomics period, Ito shows that the unconventional policies adopted by the BoJ contributed to the yen depreciation and the increase in the stock market, therefor are expected the consumption, exports, and investment to be stimulated.

For the second arrow, after the tax hikes over consumption, 5% to 8% in April 2014 and 8% to 10% in October 2019, despite seen as a struggling point to the consumption, the increase income generated were directed to reduce the deficit being spent with college and kindergarten exemption for low-income families. Even though the critics of the tax hikes affirms that it jeopardized the demand
stimulation therefore the target inflation to be achieved, the defendant of the hikes affirms that it was necessary for the debt sustainability. The hikes should automatically increase the tax revenue when the GDP grows and that worked just as planned. The consumption tax revenues from the 1990 to 2009 decreased 20 trillion yen. But from 2007 up to 2013 it grew almost 8%.

Figure 13 – Japanese Tax Revenues

![Japanese Tax Revenues](image)

Source: (Ito, takatoshi, An Assessment of Abenomics Evolution and Achievements, 2021)

Despite the debt-to-GDP ratio of the Japanese government went over 250%, the second arrow managed to increase the public revenue and bring a reasonable fiscal sustainability. After several crisis forced the government to increase the public spending (Subprime crisis, Tohoku Earthquake and COVID-19 crisis), Japan remains its commitment to a possible sustainable fiscal scenario.

Takatoshi Ito concludes the paper assessing whether the Government of Abe fulfilled its objectives comparing with former PMs, and the evaluation is dived until December 2019 and further in 2020, to eliminate the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. For the inflation rate, from December 2012 to December 2019 increased 1,1%. Despite being far from the BoJ’s target, Abe managed to withdraw the deflation path. The average unemployment at the same time reached 3,1%, the lowest unemployment rate since the beginning of deflationary status, a
2.1% decline from the 4.3% in the late 2012. The increase in labor participation of woman and elderly people was the key to reduce the rate, therefore, according to Ito’s analysis, the Abenomics successfully improved the labor market conditions. The Nikkei 225 rose 13,262 points from December 2012 to December 2019 implying an annualized return greater than 12%, presenting a very much brighter performance since the last governments from 1998. The PM Abe’s approval showed he was the second most popular PM according to the NHK ratings. The economic performance, better than the previous government contributed to the good approval rating.

After all Ito remarks that Abe managed quite well the aggregated demand. The lowest unemployment rate plus the inflation growing to the target achieved the main goals of the Abenomics proposals. The response of the stock market and the GDP gap becoming positive, suggested that the economy is driving to an excess demand.

Unlikely Saori forecasted in her paper (Shibata, 2017), Ito affirms that despite the economic performance under Abenomics cannot be evaluated as an impressive performance, the macroeconomic data revealed that it managed to redirect Japan to the economic growth path. The first two arrows do have succeed in their proposals to stimulate the aggregated demand, meanwhile the third arrow has not been put in practice. That said, it shows that the approval of the PM contributed to increase the credibility in the policies from the government and the BoJ and that the unconventional monetary policies like the QQE alongside with coordinated fiscal policies, can change the economy expectations.

**Current Japan and Abenomics’ Effects**

Until 2019 Japan presented a better economic shape than the one saw in 2012. Since then, year over year the status improved, the numbers stood far from the expectations of the proposals of Abenomics and it never achieved impressive numbers, however the economy shifted to the opposite path the way it was until 2012 (Ito, 2021), and the better scenario can change observers’ expectations based on what they are seeing (Michelis & Iacoviello, 2016).

From 2013 to 2019 Japan’s real GDP grew 1.03%, a growth trend from the stagnation and recession observed years ago, even though in 2019 real GDP in
Japan decline 0.23% compared to the previous year. During the same period the CPI was 0.9% average, reverting the deflation scenario. In 2019 unemployment achieved 2.9% the lowest rate since 1997. By the same time the interest rate remained negative -0.1%. The Japanization index (GDP Output Gap (OECD) + Short Term Interest Rate (BoJ) + CPI (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications of Japan)) had an average of 2.33% a number higher than the observed in 2012 (-0.62%) and 2011 (-1.71%). Those macroeconomics numbers reflected the Abenomics outputs guiding the Japanese economy away from deflation process and heading to potential economic growth.

However further in 2020, 2021 and 2022 two global scale events promoted several constraints of demand and supply: the Covid-19 pandemic and Russian-Ukrainian War. In March 2020 the Covid-19 outbreak arose disrupting the global supply chain and global demand pressing prices throughout the world. The Japanese real GDP shrank 4.58%, the GDP Output calculated by OECD dropped 4.17% and deflation went back with a CPI of -1.2%.

Figure 14 – Japanization Index if Japan

Source: Author’s elaboration with data from Bloomberg.
Note 1: Japanization was calculated by the sum of GDP Output from OECD, Interest Rate and CPI.
Note 2: Below the 0 (red line) the country is Japanization.
Note 3: The dash dot line represents the Covid-19 impact.
At the end of 2021, most of the damage observed in the macroeconomics data of Japan had been reversed. The real GDP grew 1.8%, despite the Output Gap was -3.10% since the global supply chain did not return to pre-pandemic levels. The interest rate remained the same since 2016 at -0.1% and the CPI showed the inflation rate rising at 0.8%. Despite away from the 2 percent target, the recovery from the 2020 shock brought GDP and CPI rates back to before 2020, presenting the Abenomics resilience.
The Russian invasion in Ukraine on February 24, 2022, provoked another shock in international prices directly to commodities and energy sectors, pressing inflation all over the world. The 12-month CPI of April 2022 reached 12.13% in Brazil, 8.25% in USA, and 2.5% in Japan, the second time CPI reached the 2% target from the BoJ since it was proposed (2014, 2.4%). However, since the inflation was not promoted by a strong aggregated demand stimulus, but for commodities and energy pressure prices, the BoJ expected CPI to decelerate according to the Statement on Monetary Policy from June 17, 2022. Therefore, the monetary policies shall not change.

**Conclusion**

Driving the Japanese economy back to a sustainable economic growth and away from the deflation trap proved to be quite a challenge since it struggled for 30 years being stagnated, from 1992 to 2012, and wrapped in the deflation process through 1998 to 2012. With opposite results from the economic policies that came before the Abenomics, the policies proposed and implemented by Shinzo Abe cabinet proved that despite the challenge, it was possible to reinstate dynamism to the economy, even though the results obtained was not by the time expected nor
magnitude forecasted. Despite the odds analyzed, the Abenomics, mainly the two first arrows had a reasonable performance stimulating the economy towards economic growth and stimulating the demand attempting to induce price pressures. The third arrow, although it was more subjective, did have a reasonable performance since it dropped the unemployment via liberalization of the labor market and achieved the goal for the Japanese economy to be part of the Transpacific Partnership (TPP), with a bonus by being the agreement’s leader once the United States stepped back from the partnership. The importance of Abenomics was paramount for the Abe’s government, and even though Shinzo Abe has left the PM’s chair, his policies are still in effect with Japan under Fumio Kishida leadership.

Nonetheless the Abenomics succeeded meanwhile faced two severe global crises, it proved that the unconventional monetary policy adopted by the BoJ did manage to stimulate the Japanese economy. Nevertheless, the monetary policies face challenges regarding the credibility of the institutions as central bank and policy makers to change the observers’ expectations, and once they have one in sight, they do have a paramount importance for the observers’ decisions.

The policies promoted by Abe may be revised since the current economic situation across the globe are facing new challenges, rebooting the supply chain from the Pandemic, and facing the consequences of the war between Russia and Ukraine. The economy of Japan seems not to be suffering the global impacts with the same intensity then other peers, nevertheless Abenomics is an inflexion point regarding the Japanese economy and presents another method on dealing with macroeconomics challenges that some countries seem to be heading to a similar status that Japan has once faced, and this case shall inspire other governments for them to achieve a resolution.
References


