

CHAPTER 03

The Challenges

03

Reviews the Challenges that need to be faced:

01. Population Aging.
02. Birth Rates.
03. Life Expectancy.
04. Employment Participation.
05. Changing Gender Roles.
06. Economic Performance and Wealth Generation.
07. Adequacy.
08. Financial Sustainability.
09. Education and Life-long Learning.
10. Savings.

SUMMARY

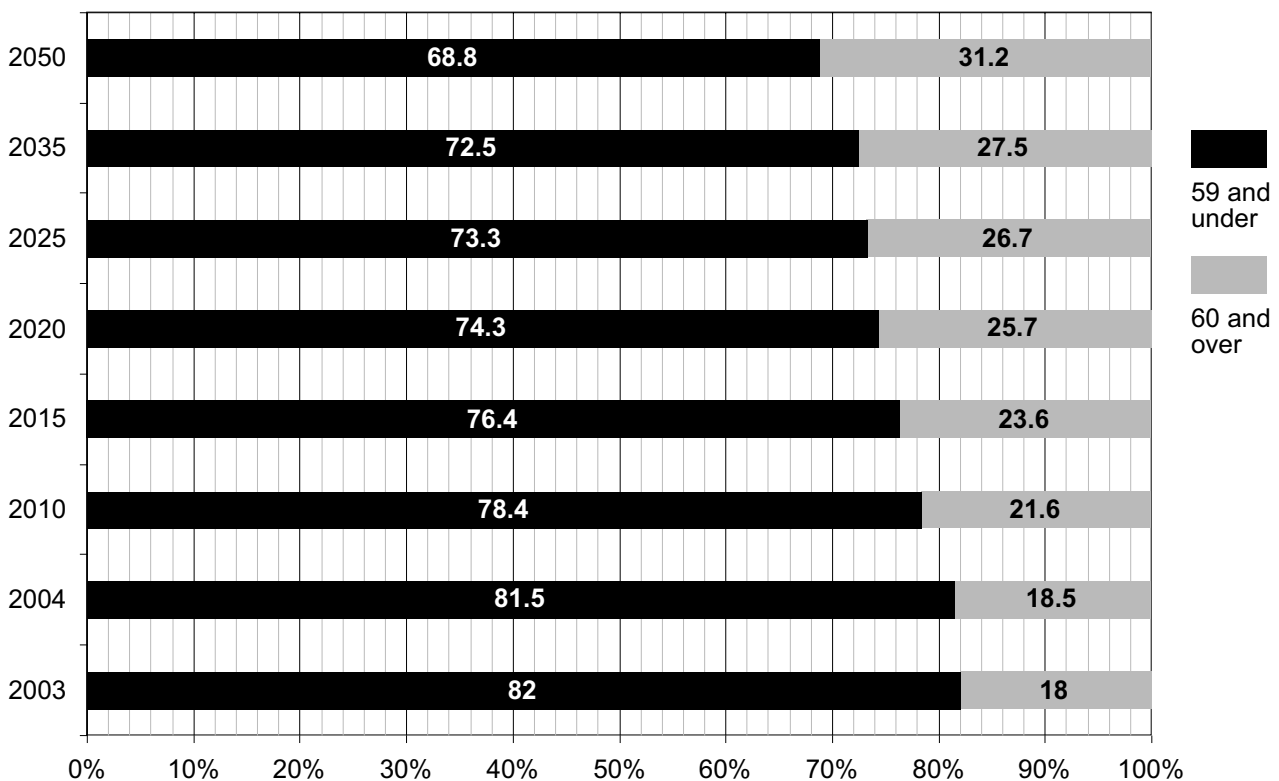


03.1 Population Aging⁴⁷

According to the National Statistics Office the Maltese population as at 2004 stands at approximately 389,000. This is expected to peak in 2015 when it reaches 394,600 persons. Subsequent to that, the Maltese population is expected to decrease to approximately the current level in 2025 and then rapidly fall to 369,900 and 333,800 in 2035 and 2050 respectively. This marked decrease in the Maltese population in 2035 and 2050 constitutes a fall in the population on 2004 of 5.2% and 14.3% respectively.

The changes in the demographic structure that the Maltese population will experience is compounded by the fact that the population will increasingly age as it decreases. As depicted in Graph 02 below persons over the age of 60 as at 2003 stand at 18% of the population. The ratio of the 60 years and over cohort in proportion to the population will increase steadily over the projected period reaching 21.6% in 2010 (20% increase on the 2003 figure), 25.7% in 2020 (42.7% and 17.6% increases on 2003 and 2010 figures respectively) to 31.2% in 2050 (73%, 44.4% and 21.4% increases on 2003, 2010, and 2020 figures respectively).

Graph 02: Projected Demographic Structure of Maltese Population till 2050



The World Bank report states that if the working age population is assumed to be all those above age 15 and retirees, there should be 3.9 workers per retiree. At the demographic peak, however, the World Bank estimates that there will be no more than 1.3 workers per retiree – with the consequential impact on the actual pensions system being far more drastic:

*“In the future, the projections suggest that there will be 1.0 worker per 2/3 pensioner. The difference from the demographics arise from the fact that the labour force participation rates of those below 25 and definitely below the age of 20 will be quite low in the future, further limiting the number of workers available to support the same stock of old age pensioners”.*⁴⁸

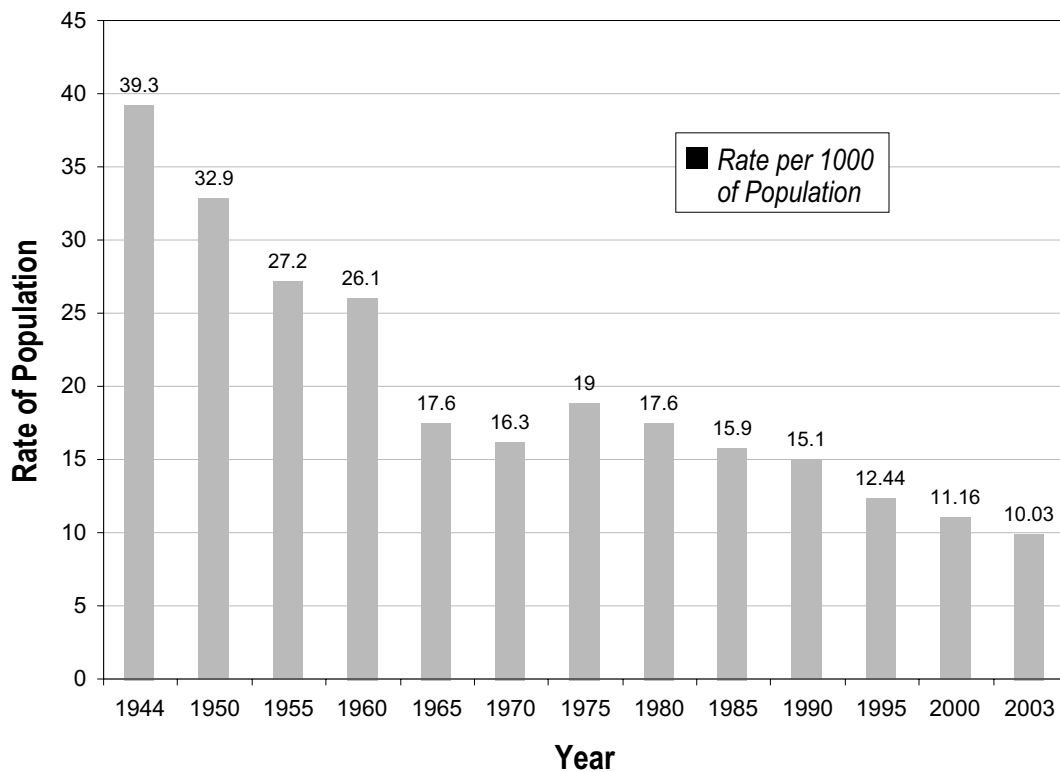
03.2 Birth Rates⁴⁹

The issue of fertility sits between the aging population issue and the labour supply. Similar to trends in Europe, where fertility rates fell drastically from approximately 2.5 in 1955 to 1.5 in 2000⁵⁰, Malta too has experienced a sharp decline in fertility rates between the immediate post war period and today.

The peak was reached in 1947 with live births standing at 11,612 – although in terms of crude birth rate (that is the number of live births per 1,000 population) the peak was reached in 1944 at 39.3. By 1960 live births and the crude birth rate fell to 8,565 and 26.1 respectively. By 1970 these fell further to 5,314 and 16.3 respectively. A marginal increase was registered in 1980 where live births and the crude birth rate increased to 5,602 and 17.2 respectively.

By 1990 this positive trend was reversed with live births and the crude birth rate falling to 5,368 and 15.1 respectively. By 2000 this deteriorated further to 4,255 and 11.16 respectively. In 2003 live births and the crude rate stood at 3,902 and 10.03 respectively.

Graph 03: Live Births between 1944 and 2003



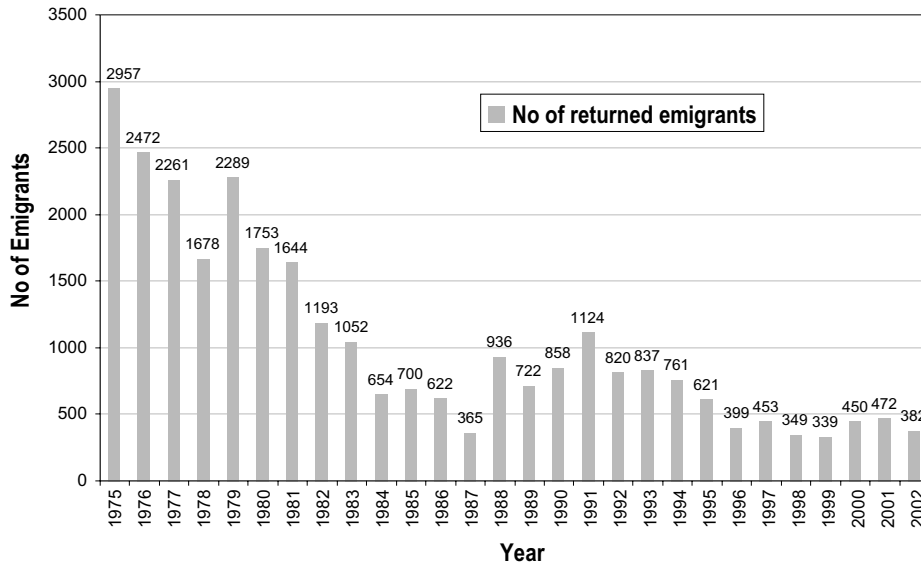
In terms of future birth rates, projections show that the 0 to 4 age cohort which stands at 5.1% of the Maltese population as at 2004 will marginally increase to 5.5% by 2015. This cohort will, however, fall sharply to 4.3% by 2035; with a slight increase to 4.5% in 2050 – a 0.8% and 0.6% decrease respectively on the 2004 figure.⁵¹

The change in birth rates directly contributes to changes in the age pyramid – which in turn has a direct impact on the current sustainability of the pensions system as people live longer whilst the supply of new labour diminishes due to a shrinking human resource base.

The decrease in fertility rates raises the question of whether the population decrease can be mitigated by an increase in returned emigrants and the provision of employment licenses to expatriates respectively.

Graph 04 below shows the number of returned emigrants since 1975. The number of returned emigrants started to decrease from 1980 onwards, falling from 2,289 in 1979 to 382 in 2002.

Graph 04: Returned Emigrants since 1975 and 2003

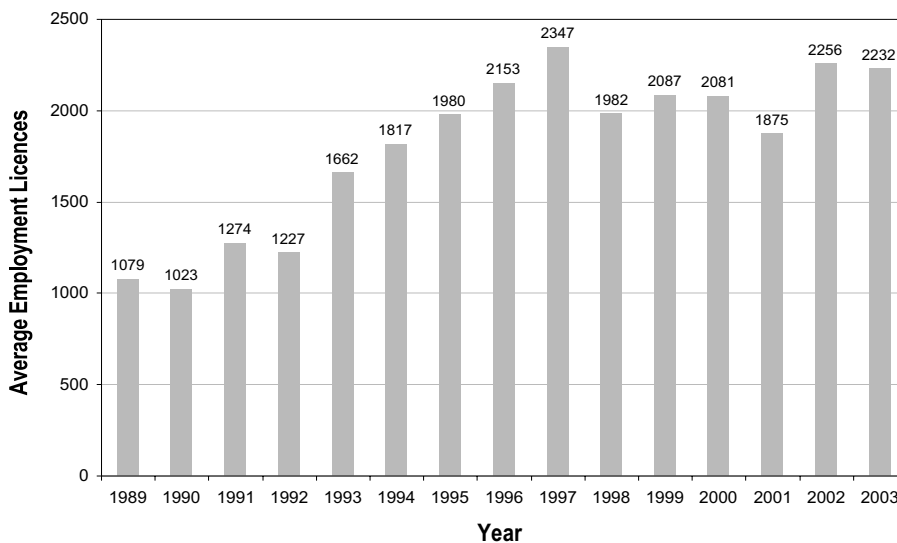


* Note: Statistics form the National Statistics Office

The decrease in returned emigrants may be explained by the fact that the mass surge of emigration that occurred in the post-war period petered out over time thereby impacting the degree of first generation emigrants that returned to Malta.

Graph 05 shows the number of employment licenses issued to expatriates since 1989. Whilst this has increased steadily between 1989 and 1997, the number of licenses issued have subsequently stabilised.

Graph 05: Employment Licenses to Expatriates



* Note: Average Statistics as at end of each year from the Department of Citizenship and Expatriate Affairs

It is too early to assess whether the labour force will increase as a direct consequence of the freedom of movement principle arising from Malta's entry into the European Union. Moreover, an issue that will require policy consideration in the relatively short term is the impact of the increasing number of individuals that are provided with a refugee status on the labour market.

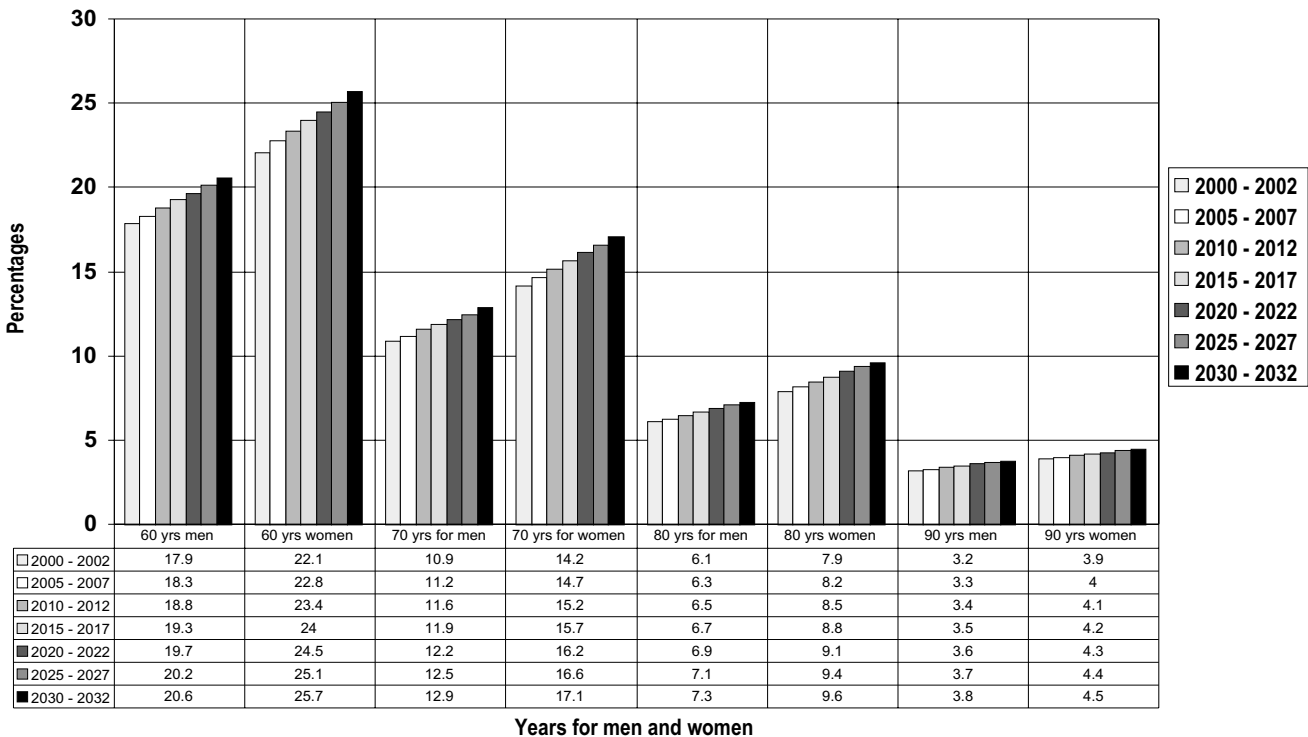
03.3 Life Expectancy⁵²

The demographic structure referred to earlier is also effected by the longevity expectation of the new born and elderly people. The life expectancy of male children at birth has increased from 55.7 in 1948 to 73.8 in 2000-2002. This is expected to increase to 75.9 by 2015-2017 and 77.8 by 2030-2032. In terms of women children life expectancy at birth has increased from 57.7 in 1948 to 79.5 in 2000-2002 and is expected to reach 81.9 and 84.0 in 2015-2017 and 2030-2032 respectively.

The life expectancy of males over 60 and 70 years of age reached 17.9 and 10.9 respectively in 2000-2002. In 1948 life expectancy at 55 years of age and 65 years and over stood at 19.0 and 21 respectively. The life expectancy of males over 60 and 70 years of age is expected to reach 19.3 and 11.9 respectively in 2015-2017 and 20.6 and 12.9 respectively in 2030-2032.

In terms of women over 60 and 70 years of age, life expectancy reached 22.1 and 14.2 respectively in 2000-2002. In 1948 life expectancy at 55 years of age and 65 years and over stood at 19.9 and 22.2 respectively. The life expectancy of women over 60 and 70 years of age is expected to reach 24.0 and 15.7 respectively in 2015-2017 and 25.7 and 17.1 respectively in 2030-2032

Graph 06: Life Expectancy Projections for Persons who are 60 years and Over



03.4 Employment Participation

Employment participation in Malta reached 53.7% in 2003, which is far below the EU target of 70% for 2005. Women participation stands at 33.7%.⁵³ The age distribution of the 55 to 64 age cohort in proportion to total employed persons is 9.3%. The participation of retirees above the age of 65 is 0.9%.⁵⁴ Each of these labour segments are significantly low.

It clearly emerges that the labour market is not managing to encourage women employees to retain their employment after the birth of their children, nor to return to work. The same results in terms of incentives to older people not to stop working life prematurely by encouraging them to stay at work after the statutory retirement age.

The current contributory conditions of earnings related pensions do not serve as incentives for either group to remain within the labour market. This restricts the growth of the contribution base just when increased participation is necessary to compensate for decreasing labour supply.

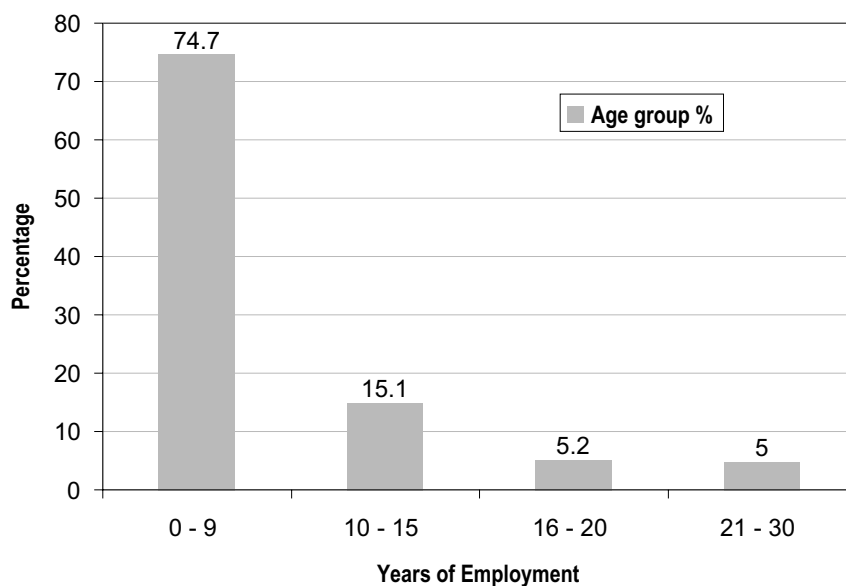
03.5 Changing Gender Roles

The current pensions system is modeled on a traditional family pattern where the man is the main breadwinner and the wife is the full-time home carer who is dependent on her husband for income support. This leads to the effect that amongst retired couples, the woman is dependent on the husband for a pension benefit.

A considerable proportion of women workers exit the labour force at an early age. While the employment rates of young men and women are similar until the age of 25, in the 25 to 34 age bracket they diverge significantly. In December 2003, the rates in the latter bracket were 89.3% for men and 53.3% for women.

Moreover, only 74.7% of women continue to form part of the labour force by the ninth year of employment. It is pertinent to underline that by the 10th to the 15th year of employment, only 15.1% of women remain within the labour force⁵⁵. This is depicted in the graph below.

Graph 07: Females Remaining in the Labour Force According to Years of Employment



It is to be noted that the average exit age of women from the labour force is 26 years whilst their average retirement age is 56.5 years⁵⁶.

It is thus argued that women perceive their contributions as wasted – which is in no small part related to their greater participation in the informal economy. This is compounded by the fact that the minimum national insurance contribution payable is 10% of minimum wage; thus, even woman part timers face a disincentive to work in the formal sector given that this contribution is relatively high compared to their earnings. It is, therefore, further argued that most married women do not perceive the earnings related system to be relevant to them and opt for dependence on their spouse's pension, or on the survivor's pension after their husband's death.

03.6 Economic Performance and Wealth

The Maltese economy has performed at an average GDP growth at current market prices of 5.8% (3.1% at 1995 prices) between 1995 and 2003; with growth over the past 2001, 2002 and 2003 being 4.6%, 3.4% and 1.6% (-1.1%, 2.3%, -1.7% at 1995 prices) respectively.⁵⁷

A pensions system that is adequate and sustainable is strongly dependent on the economic performance of the nation and the wealth generated. A weak economy will always struggle to meet the demands of a pensions structure irrespective of the mechanisms put into place to render that structure sustainable to the extent possible.

Securing economic performance and wealth, however, is strongly dependent on the macro and fiscal policies adopted by Government to enable and facilitate the generation of wealth. Consequently, the design of a sustainable and adequate pensions system cannot not be correlated to the design of the macro and fiscal policies directed to boost economic growth.

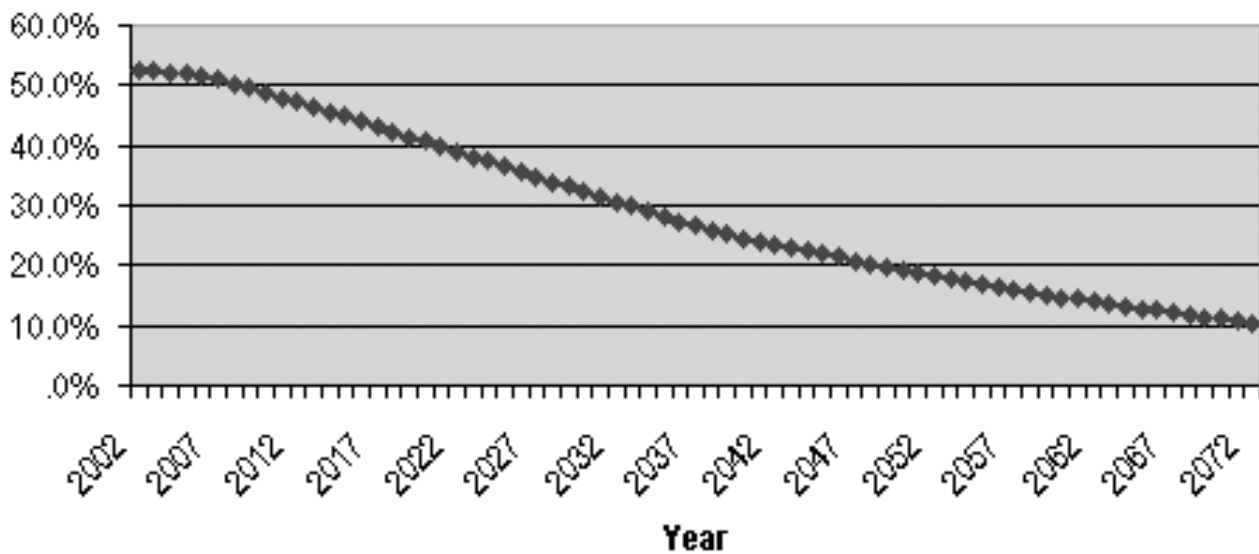
In this regard, this Report argues that Government must complement the introduction of the recommendations proposed in this Report with innovative and creative macro and fiscal policies designed to achieve strong and consistent economic growth. It is pertinent to underline that this aspect is being discussed at the MCESD to achieve consensus amongst the social partners and Government on the measures to be adopted in this regard.

03.7 Adequacy

The average pension relative to the average wage is strongly influenced by the ceiling on contributions and benefits. This ceiling, as shown earlier, is 33% higher than the average wage, and is increased each year by a COLA adjustment that is approximately 80% of annual inflation.

In their PROST simulations, the World Bank conclude that the average pension in relation to the average wage will by 2072 fall considerably. This is depicted in the Graph 08 below.

Graph 08: PROST Simulation of Average Pension Relative to Average Wage, World Bank: March 2004



Note: Source Figure 2, *The Maltese Pensions System: An Analysis of the Current System and Options for Reform*, World Bank, March 2004

The World Bank states, and quoting extensively, that:

“By the end of the period with positive real wage growth, the ceiling for income subject to contributions will end up about 19% of average wage. Since the pension depends on insurable earnings, the pensions ~~paid~~ will be at best 2/3 of the 19% of average wage, which is about 12% of average wage. While adequacy does not require a benefit equal to 100% of average wage, pensions, which are only 12% of average wage, are generally not considered adequate and may not fulfill the poverty alleviation criterion. Furthermore, while pensions during retirement are indexed to growth in civil servant wages within certain grades, the pensions are further constrained by a maximum, which also grows with COLA. At the end everyone will be receiving the maximum pension.”⁵⁸

03.8 Financial Sustainability

Table 01 below shows the Welfare Gap between 1998 and 2003⁵⁹. The Welfare Gap decreased between 1998 to 2001 by Lm8,829,591. Nevertheless it increased in 2002 on the 2001 balance by Lm5,529,682. In 2003 this increased on the 2002 balance by Lm6,348,711; an increase of Lm3,048,802 on the 1998 balance (a 4.9% increase).

Table 01: Welfare Gap 1998 - 2003

INCOME	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003⁶⁰
<i>Class I Contributions</i>						
1 Employees	36,808,000	40,581,000	47,479,945	53,609,680	54,157,849	125,644,558*
2 Employers	44,188,000	45,089,000	47,479,945	53,609,945	54,157,829	
3 Other	62,000	61,000	143,749	48,421	85,292	
<i>Class II Contributions</i>						
Self Employed	9,400,000	10,471,000	12,956,319	12,124,576	12,388,651	
<i>Direct Contribution by Government in Terms of the SSA</i>						
	45,197,680	48,071,469	53,958,103	59,672,065	60,352,165	62,782,243
Total Income	135,655,680	144,273,469	162,018,061	179,064,687	181,141,789	188,426,801
EXPENDITURE						
<i>Contributory Benefits</i>						
1 Retirement Pensions	62,805,339	66,098,132	71,692,382	78,466,580	80,886,732	84,131,689
2 Childrens' Allowance	20,111,471	19,034,766	18,430,319	15,851,333	15,850,490	14,858,629
3 Bonus	9,121,947	10,161,381	9,859,511	9,945,137	10,126,270	10,733,462
4 Other	37,348,340	40,936,357	41,710,937	45,038,401	47,757,062	51,973,275
<i>Administration Expenses</i>	2,694,050	2,056,552	2,233,957	2,569,949	2,553,833	2,444,452
<i>Expenses in Connection with Health Recurrent Services</i>						
1 Hospitalisation	54,466,907	55,617,731	63,331,242	67,659,797	69,476,730	75,307,061
2 Elderly & Special Needs	10,641,355	9,543,660	10,211,402	12,237,628	12,724,489	13,560,764
Total Expenditure	197,189,409	203,448,579	217,469,750	231,768,825	239,375,606	253,009,332
WELFARE GAP	(61,533,729)	(59,175,110)	(55,451,689)	(52,704,138)	(58,233,820)	(64,582,531)

*Note: Figure includes Class I and Class II Contributions

A comparison of income earned through contributions paid by employers and employees (Class I) as well as the self-employed (Class II) against all Contributory Benefits payable subject to the Two-Thirds Pension Scheme, (with benefits including childrens' allowance, bonus, old age pensions, disability pensions, social assistance, medical assistance and supplementary assistance amongst others) shows that income earned is less than benefits paid. As Table 02 below shows, however, the deficit in this regard improved between 1998 and 2001, though it increased by Lm3,919,104 in 2002 over 2001. In 2003 this increased further – Lm2,221,564 on 2002 – though this is still below the 1998 balance. It is pertinent to state that for the purposes of this comparison the State's contribution is not included as according to the World Bank the yardstick to determine a pensions deficit should exclude the State's contribution.⁶¹

Table 02: Employer and Self-employed Persons / Employee Contributions Against Total Benefits Paid

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Class I Contributions	81,058,000	85,731,000	95,103,639	107,268,046	108,400,970	125,644,558*
Class II Contributions	9,400,000	10,471,000	12,956,316	12,124,576	12,388,651	
Contributory Benefits	(129,387,097)	(136,230,636)	(141,693,149)	(149,301,451)	(154,620,554)	(161,697,055)
Deficit	(38,929,097)	(40,028,636)	(33,633,194)	(29,911,829)	(33,830,933)	(36,052,497)

If the State's Contribution is included the difference between total contributions paid (that is the Class I, Class II and the State Grant) against total benefits paid is as shown in Table 03 below.

Table 03: Total Contributions Against Total Benefits Paid

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Difference	(38,929,097)	(40,028,636)	(33,633,194)	(29,911,829)	(33,830,933)	(36,052,497)
Direct Contribution by Government in terms of the Social Security Act	45,197,680	48,071,469	53,985,103	59,672,065	60,352,165	62,782,243
Surplus	6,268,583	8,042,833	20,351,909	29,760,236	26,521,232	26,729,746

The difference between Employer and Employees contributions paid and Retirement Pensions is shown in Table 04 below.

Table 04: Employer and Self-employed Persons / Employee Benefits Against Retirement Pensions Benefits

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Class I Contributions	81,058,000	85,731,000	95,103,639	107,268,046	108,400,970	125,644,558*
Class II Contributions	9,400,000	10,471,000	12,956,316	12,124,576	12,388,651	
Retirement Pensions	62,805,339	66,098,132	71,692,382	78,466,580	80,886,732	84,131,689
Surplus	27,652,661	30,103,868	36,367,573	40,926,042	39,902,889	41,512,869

Table 04 above shows that the cost of retirement pensions as at 2003, even without the State's Contribution, against income earned from Class I and Class II contributions is a positive Lm41.5 million. It is pertinent to state that this surplus would be lower if other contributory benefits are included. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that contributions generated from employers, employees and self-employed persons together with the State Contribution are directed to finance non-contributory benefits as well as health recurrent services. The total income generated from contributions does not, today, suffice to meet this expenditure – thereby creating the current welfare gap.

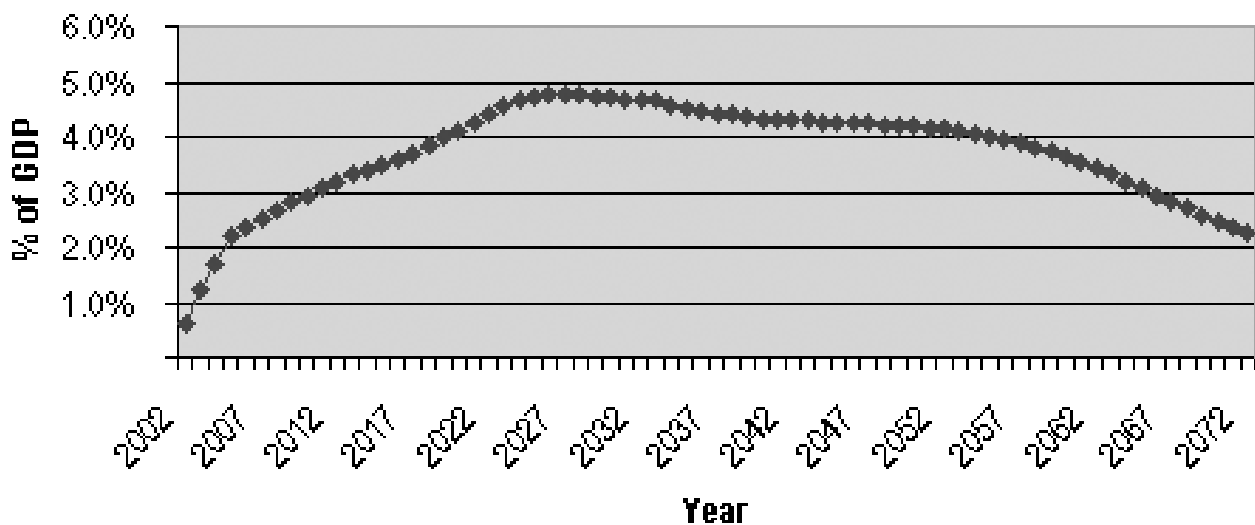
**Note: figures include Class I and Class II contributions.*

The deficit as depicted in Table 02 – that is total contributory income earned excluding the State Contributions against total benefits paid excluding the financing of health recurrent services – as at 2002 stands at 2% of GDP at current market prices.⁶²

As the Graph 09 below shows, the World Bank estimates, in the PROST models it simulated, that the deficits will:

“... accelerate to 3.5% of GDP by 2015 and to 4.7% by 2030 before leveling off in the future. By 2011, the full 10% government contribution will be insufficient to cover the deficit in pensions, leaving nothing left for the other social benefits”⁶³

Graph 09: PROST Simulation of Pension Deficits as % of GDP, World Bank: March 2004



*Note: Reference World Bank Report, March 2004

Why, therefore, is the pensions systems expected to undertake such a turn around? The World Bank concludes that a large part of the answer stems from the demographic shifts discussed earlier. Quoting extensively from the World Bank March 2004 Report:

“Currently if the working age population is assumed to be all those above age 15 and retirees above the retirement age, there should be 3.9 workers per old age retiree. At the demographic peak, there will be no more than 1.3 workers per retiree. However, looking at the pensions system, the change is more drastic. Currently, there are about 5.8 workers per 2/3 pensioner, more than the demographics would suggest. This is largely because many of those retiring under the old occupational schemes are receiving only top-up pensions and not the full 2/3 pension, a function of the immaturity of the system. In the future, the projections suggest that there will be 1.0 worker per 2/3 pensioner. Furthermore, the system finances more than just 2/3 pensioners. When all the invalids, widows, survivors and top up pensioners are considered, there are only 2.6 workers per pension today and in the future there are projected to be only 0.9 workers per pensioner.”⁶⁴

The World Bank March 2004 report continues to say, and again quoting extensively, that:

“Given these demographics it is not difficult to figure out why the pensions system will be running a deficit. In pay as you go systems, revenues come from contributors paying a percentage of average wage. Expenditures come from the pensioners who are paid a pension, which can also be expressed as a percentage of average wage. If there are currently 5.8 workers per 2/3 pensioner, the system could afford to pay 2/3 pensioners 116% of average wage if there were no other pensioners to pay or the contribution rate of 20% (employer and employee) multiplied by 5.8. Given the other pensioners, the system could afford to pay 52% of average wage per pensioner, with the invalidity pensioners and survivors of course receiving less than 2/3 on average, while the 2/3 pensioner of course receives 2/3. In the future, the system could pay only 20% of average wage to the 2/3 pensioner or if all benefits are considered, only 18% of average wage per pensioner. So clearly in a scenario where the system must provide individual pensions equal to 2/3 of their salaries as well as to provide other benefits, the system will run deficits, and relatively large deficits, with the revenues in the future able to cover only 27% of expenditures compared to 92% today.”⁶⁵

03.9 Education and Life-Long Learning

Knowledge and advanced skills will be critical contributors to Malta’s economic growth, standard and quality of life as learning outcomes are transformed into goods and services, greater institutional capacity, a better civil society and an improved investment climate.⁶⁶ Ensuring good quality continuous life-long learning is an essential and integral element of Malta’s strive to become a knowledge based economy.

Moreover, technical and scientific progress is moving at an exponential pace. Whilst this is positive it also demands increasing knowledge and flexibility from people. Thus, the capacity to adapt to change, disseminate and maximise the rapid technological advances is dependent on the ability to inculcate a culture of life-long learning.

It is therefore important that all institutions respond properly to the economic requirements of the Nation. Likewise, it is important that they also respond to the increasing demands of both the young and adults for more and better opportunities of post secondary, vocational and tertiary education. The short ‘shelf life’ of knowledge, skills and occupations results in the growing importance of continuing education and of regularly updating individual capacities and qualifications.⁶⁷

Thus, educational institutions would not only continue to require substantial public investment to meet both the qualitative and quantitative demands, but they must also change from the current traditional model of finite education to one that promotes life-long learning and continuous professional development.

Moreover, the concept of life-long learning becomes essential towards ensuring that people not only retain skills currency but develop new skills to render effectiveness and value in their employability as they may be mandated by an increase in the statutory retirement age or, by means of incentives, to remain within the workforce.

03.10 Savings

The personal sector wealth held in resident deposits (including bearer deposits) with all banking institutions as at September 2003 stands at Lm2.15 billion. This constitutes 59.7% of the deposits held by banking institutions which amount to Lm3.59 billion. Table 05 shows that savings in real terms have enjoyed a steady growth since 1985 – reaching the Lm0.5 billion mark in 1989, the Lm1 billion mark in 1994, the Lm1.5 billion mark in 1997 and Lm2 billion mark in 2001.

Savings per capita have also increased. Whilst this stood at Lm958 per person in 1985, the Lm2,000, Lm4,000 and Lm5,000 per person thresholds were reached in 1992, 1998 and 2001 respectively.

Table 05: Deposits of Households Resident in Malta with All Banking Institutions⁶⁸

Year	Total Deposits (end of year position) Lm000s	Total Population	Per capita deposits (000s)
1985	362,832	340,907	1.06
1986	359,609	343,514	1.05
1987	396,878	345,636	1.15
1988	452,890	349,014	1.30
1989	523,196	352,430	1.48
1990	609,524	355,910	1.71
1991	681,830	359,543	1.90
1992	766,751	362,977	2.11
1993	877,873	366,431	2.40
1994	1,029,646	369,451	2.79
1995	1,170,640	371,173	3.15
1996	1,322,162	373,958	3.54
1997	1,466,011	376,513	3.89
1998	1,615,056	378,518	4.27
1999	1,704,669	380,201	4.48
2000	1,786,776	382,525	4.67
2001	1,955,817	385,077	5.08
2002	2,121,567	386,938	5.48
2003	2,180,340	388,867	5.61

In the absence of a classification that shows how the above savings are distributed amongst earnings categories it is not possible to conclude whether these savings are equally distributed across the population. The assumption that ownership of these savings, however, is unequally distributed is most likely. If such an assumption is correct, it so follows that the majority of the population would only have saved a modest amount to contribute to their standard of living during retirement.

Whilst savings per capita increased, the savings ratio (based on consumption, disposable income and savings) as shown in Table 06, however, has decreased substantially over the same period of time. The Savings Ratio stood at 8.87 in 1985. This peaks in 1994 when it stood at 16.85%. In 1999 this fell down to 9.22%. In 2000 the Savings Ratio experienced a marked decrease to 4.35% falling to its lowest ever in 2002 at 1.30%. The conclusion is that people are saving less in relation to consumption and disposable income. If the current trends continue this would mean that people would have saved far too little during their working life to boost their pension income during retirement.

Table 06: Savings Ratio⁶⁹

Year	Consumers' expenditure Lm thousands	Savings Lm thousands	Household Disposable Income Lm thousands	Savings Ratio%
1985	333,239	32,440	365,655	8.87
1986	343,369	37,930	381,237	9.95
1987	351,187	62,530	413,621	15.12
1988	387,567	55,870	443,524	12.60
1989	425,515	59,620	485,164	12.29
1990	460,845	73,270	534,120	13.72
1991	494,504	89,660	584,160	15.35
1992	531,530	98,270	629,620	15.61
1993	561,498	105,430	666,930	15.81
1994	608,288	123,280	731,570	16.85
1995	700,425	85,280	785,710	10.85
1996	764,901	82,670	847,580	9.75
1997	803,493	70,720	874,210	8.09
1998	846,002	90,720	936,730	9.68
1999	915,014	92,980	1,008,000	9.22
2000	994,273	45,300	1,042,000	4.35
2001	1,041,866	21,600	1,066,200	2.03
2002	1,079,361	14,200	1,096,000	1.30

House loans, which can be considered as a form of savings, have, as shown in Table 07, increased sharply over the same period. Whilst the per capita investment in house loans increased steadily between 1985 and 1999 it has enjoyed marked growth since 2000. Thus, whilst people are consuming more, it can be concluded that part of this consumption is directed towards investing in acquiring houses as personal and long term assets.

Table 07: House Loans to Resident Households with All Banking Institutions⁷⁰

Year	Total Resident Lending for House Purchase	Population	Per Capita House Loans
	Lm 000s		
1985	37,692	340,907	0.11
1986	42,047	343,514	0.12
1987	46,488	345,636	0.13
1988	54,352	349,014	0.16
1989	64,440	352,430	0.18
1990	77,328	355,910	0.22
1991	84,427	359,543	0.23
1992	94,287	362,977	0.26
1993	98,885	366,431	0.27
1994	120,031	369,451	0.32
1995	132,559	371,173	0.36
1996	151,166	373,958	0.40
1997	173,690	376,513	0.46
1998	195,054	378,518	0.52
1999	224,089	380,201	0.59
2000	257,943	382,525	0.67
2001	306,722	385,077	0.80
2002	367,124	386,938	0.95
2003	442,245	388,867	1.14

47 Ad hoc, Projected Maltese Population 2004 – 2050 Report, National Statistics Office, October 2004

48 2.06 (ii), The Maltese Pensions System: An Analysis of the Current System and Options for Reform, World Bank, March 2004

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