

“Brazilian Pension Reform: Limited Freedom and Economic Inefficiency”

By Felipe Ferreira Iser

Brazil is the fifth-largest country in the world in both territory and population. With approximately 4,600 miles of coastline along the Atlantic Ocean and a diverse range of ecosystems, including wetlands, savannas, plateaus, and low mountains, Brazil is home to an extraordinary array of fauna and flora. The Amazon River, the largest in the world by volume of water, flows through the northern part of the country, further emphasizing Brazil's rich natural resources. Economically, Brazil is a major global player, boasting a GDP of approximately 2.19 trillion USD in 2024, ranking as the 10th largest nominal GDP and 7th in terms of Purchasing Power Parity (PPP).

Despite these impressive figures, Brazil faces significant fiscal challenges. The country's federal deficit reached approximately 8% of its GDP in 2024, reflecting a troubling trend of increasing budget deficits, current account deficits, and nominal public sector deficits. One of the primary factors contributing to this fiscal imbalance is Brazil's pension system, which has long been criticized for its unsustainable structure and its role in exacerbating economic inequalities.

The Brazilian pension system operates on a pay-as-you-go (PAYG) model, managed by the National Institute of Social Security (INSS) for private-sector workers and separate regimes for public-sector employees. Under this system, active workers' contributions are used to pay the pensions of current retirees. The main mandatory contributions include:

- **Employees:** Contributions range between 7.5% and 14% of their gross salary, depending on income level.
- **Employers:** Contributions amount to approximately 20% of the employee's salary, along with additional social security taxes that vary by industry and payroll structure.

The most recent pension reform, enacted in November 2019 through Constitutional Amendment 103/2019, introduced several significant changes, including:

- Raising the minimum retirement age to 62 years for women and 65 years for men (for private-sector workers and federal employees).
- Increasing contribution requirements.
- Modifying the pension calculation formula to reduce benefits for early retirees.
- Ending some special retirement rules for public-sector employees.
- Establishing a transition regime for those already in the workforce.

The core problem with Brazil's pension system is its unsustainable structure. Since the PAYG model relies on current workers funding retirees' benefits, an aging population leads to an inherent imbalance. As life expectancy rises and birth rates decline, fewer active workers are available to sustain an increasing number of retirees. This demographic shift creates a growing financial strain, increasing the deficit and forcing the government to allocate more resources to sustain the system, often at the expense of other essential services or economic growth.

Pedro Saltini, in his analysis of social security, highlights how such systems distort economic decision-making by undermining personal savings and creating excessive dependence on the state. This argument aligns with Friedrich Hayek's critique of central economic planning, which he warned leads to inefficiencies and the misallocation of resources. Hayek famously argued that "the more the state 'plans', the more difficult planning becomes for the individual." These two sources reinforce one of the key principles of the Austrian School of Economics, which is the free market way of thinking. This method relies on decentralized decision-making in order to achieve economic efficiency. The Brazilian pension system exemplifies this issue by removing individuals' ability to manage their own retirement savings, instead imposing a collective one-size-fits-only model that is financially unsustainable in the long run.

Furthermore, the pension system perpetuates generational inequality. Younger workers are disproportionately burdened, as they are forced to contribute to a system with no guarantee of receiving equivalent benefits in the future due to the lack of workforce and the ever rising inflation. This creates a snowball effect—each generation faces greater uncertainty regarding the system's solvency while continuing to pay into it under coercion. Murray Rothbard's criticism of social security systems is particularly relevant here. He viewed them as government-imposed schemes that unfairly extract wealth from younger generations under the guise of intergenerational solidarity. As he succinctly put it, "The state is not a social service organization; it is an instrument of compulsion and coercion."

This coercion not only affects individual financial freedom but also discourages wealth creation. When younger workers are compelled to contribute a significant portion of their income to a failing pension system, they have fewer resources to invest in productive ventures, private retirement accounts, or entrepreneurial activities. Ludwig von Mises noted that government interventions often lead to unintended consequences that stifle economic growth. In his view, "Government cannot make man richer, but it can make him poorer." The Brazilian pension system exemplifies this principle by limiting economic mobility and discouraging self-reliance.

The Brazilian pension system is further burdened by the full pensions granted to military personnel and special benefits extended to specific groups, such as teachers and government officials. These groups often contribute less to the pension system while receiving full or even enhanced salaries upon retirement, sometimes earning more than they did during their active years. This disparity amplifies the fiscal strain, forcing higher contributions from the general workforce to sustain the privileges of a select few. As Pedro Saltini highlights, this structure creates an imbalance that disproportionately benefits government-affiliated sectors at the expense of private-sector workers, deepening economic inequality.

Ludwig von Mises and Friedrich Hayek have extensively critiqued state-controlled financial structures, warning that centralized economic planning distorts incentives and leads to inefficient resource allocation. Hayek, in "The Road to Serfdom," underscores how excessive state intervention erodes economic stability and individual freedoms, a principle clearly illustrated by the pension system's misallocation of funds. Murray Rothbard, in "Man, Economy, and State," similarly criticizes forced wealth transfers as an unjust coercion that disrupts voluntary economic interactions and leads to unsustainable fiscal policies.

The existence of these privileged pension schemes not only worsens the government's financial burden but also reduces the incentive for responsible financial planning. By guaranteeing full pensions irrespective of actual contributions, the system encourages dependency on state-provided security rather than promoting private savings and investments. Bastiat's observations in "The Law" remain relevant—when the state prioritizes specific groups over others, it fosters rent-seeking behavior and institutionalized unfairness, distorting the balance necessary for a healthy economy.

Ultimately, the Brazilian pension system's special benefits for select professions deepen economic inefficiencies and undermine fiscal sustainability. The Austrian School of Economics consistently emphasizes that markets operate best when free from coercive distortions, and pension reforms should reflect this principle. Transitioning toward a more equitable and contribution-based retirement system, without undue privileges for specific groups, would alleviate the fiscal burden and create a fairer economic environment for all.

The mandatory nature of Brazil's pension contributions severely restricts individuals' financial autonomy, preventing them from exploring alternative investment opportunities. Workers are forced to contribute a significant portion of their income to a system that may not provide adequate returns, limiting their ability to allocate funds to private pension plans or higher-yield financial instruments. This constraint contradicts the principles of economic freedom championed by Austrian economists, who argue that individuals should have control over their financial choices rather than be subjected to coercive state policies.

Another drawback from the state investing in the other's future is that when someone is investing for the population, this generates no interest in the person to learn about investing, look for better alternatives, or even look for someone better qualified to invest for them or teach how to do it.

Ludwig von Mises, in "Human Action," emphasizes that economic freedom is a cornerstone of prosperity, and any state-imposed financial scheme that eliminates individual discretion leads to inefficiency and reduced innovation. The Brazilian pension system exemplifies this issue by forcibly redistributing earnings, disincentivizing personal savings, and eroding financial independence. Pedro Saltini's analysis aligns with these concerns, as he critiques how the state monopolizes pension management, leaving citizens with little choice but to comply with an inefficient and unfair system.

Moreover, technological advancements such as Brazil's PIX payment system and enhanced financial tracking mechanisms have enabled stricter enforcement of mandatory contributions. The government's ability to identify and penalize informal employment or attempts at alternative financial planning further entrenches the lack of freedom in pension choices and it is also bad for the economy, once these people end up losing part of their income and by consequence end up saving more money instead of spending it. This level of state oversight mirrors Rothbard's warnings in "Power and Market," where he describes how regulatory control over financial transactions leads to state overreach and curtails individual liberties.

The forced participation in a rigid pension system not only violates economic freedom but also stifles economic dynamism. A truly free-market approach, as advocated by Austrian economists, would allow workers to opt for private retirement solutions, fostering competition and efficiency in financial planning. Reducing government control over pension contributions would empower individuals to make informed decisions about their future, ensuring a more sustainable and just economic framework.

The inefficiency of public pension systems is a core critique levied by Austrian economists, who argue that state-managed programs inherently fail to allocate resources efficiently. Compared to private alternatives, government-run pensions provide significantly lower returns, particularly for low-income workers who are forced to contribute a substantial portion of their earnings without the flexibility to seek better investment options. Friedrich Hayek emphasized that central planning distorts market signals and prevents the efficient distribution of capital, leading to suboptimal outcomes for contributors. When workers are compelled to pay into a government pension fund rather than investing their earnings independently, they often end up with a lower retirement income than if they had the freedom to choose their financial strategy.

A key structural flaw of public pension systems is the contribution ceiling, which limits the amount high-income earners must pay into the system while offering no proportional flexibility for lower earners. This effectively serves as an implicit admission of inefficiency, as the government itself acknowledges that beyond a certain threshold, private investment becomes more advantageous. As Pedro Saltini noted, individuals earning between 12,000 and 40,000 Reais (2,068 and 6,896 USD) per month contribute at the same capped rate, despite having vastly different financial capabilities. This policy not only discourages high earners from relying on the state pension but also entrenches inequality by making lower-income workers bear a disproportionately heavy financial burden.

Murray Rothbard critiques such forced participation as an infringement on economic freedom, likening it to a system of coercion where individuals are compelled to make subpar financial decisions under government mandate. Instead of allowing people to accumulate wealth according to their risk tolerance and personal financial goals, the public system locks them into a one-size-fits-all model that rarely delivers optimal returns. For the wealthy, this merely reinforces their ability to bypass inefficiencies by investing elsewhere, while lower-income individuals remain trapped in a subpar system with little hope of building generational wealth.

This inefficiency extends beyond individual returns and affects the economy at large. Because government pensions operate on a redistributive basis rather than a capital-accumulation model, they fail to generate new wealth. As Ludwig von Mises argued, any system that relies on redistribution rather than production is inherently unsustainable in the long run. The opportunity cost of mandatory pension contributions—money that could otherwise be invested in productive sectors—further weakens economic growth and innovation.

The long-term viability of public pension systems is increasingly being called into question as demographic and economic trends shift. A key challenge is the declining ratio of workers to retirees, a fundamental issue in pay-as-you-go systems where current contributions fund present-day beneficiaries. As birth rates fall and life expectancy rises, fewer working-age individuals are available to sustain growing pension obligations. This phenomenon has been highlighted by Hayek and Mises, who pointed out that government-managed programs are inherently vulnerable to demographic changes, unlike private savings, which can adapt dynamically to market conditions.

Pedro Saltini's research underscores the unsustainable burden placed on younger generations, who are required to finance the pensions of an aging population while facing diminishing economic prospects themselves. With rising youth unemployment, a shrinking middle class, and increasing economic precarity, younger workers are struggling to keep up

with pension obligations that were originally designed for a different era. The system, rather than promoting equity, ends up creating generational inequality, forcing young people to subsidize retirees who may have had significantly more stable and prosperous careers.

Frédéric Bastiat's concept of the "seen and unseen" is particularly relevant here. While pension payments provide immediate benefits to retirees, the unseen consequences—higher taxation, reduced disposable income, and constrained investment opportunities for younger workers—are often ignored. As Saltini argues, the current structure of pension financing creates a snowball effect, where short-term political expediency leads to long-term economic instability.

Moreover, the chronic deficits faced by pension systems necessitate either higher taxation or increased government debt, both of which exacerbate economic distortions. Mises warned that increasing state intervention in financial markets leads to greater inefficiencies, as government borrowing to cover pension shortfalls ultimately crowds out private investment. If reforms are not implemented, the system is likely to become even more unsustainable, further eroding the financial independence of future generations.

Public pension systems also have the unintended consequence of discouraging financial literacy and personal investment habits. When the government assumes the role of primary retirement planner, individuals have little incentive to educate themselves about savings, investment strategies, or financial risk management. This aligns with Rothbard's critique of state intervention, which he argued fosters dependency rather than self-reliance.

By mandating pension contributions, the state effectively conditions individuals to rely on external guarantees rather than taking proactive steps to secure their financial future. As Pedro Saltini points out, when individuals are forced to contribute to a system with poor returns and minimal flexibility, they lose the motivation to seek better financial alternatives. This not only limits personal wealth accumulation but also diminishes the overall economic dynamism of society, as fewer people engage in entrepreneurship, long-term investments, or diversified financial planning.

Hayek's warnings about the dangers of centralization are particularly relevant here. When the state assumes responsibility for financial planning, it inevitably stifles the development of individual knowledge and market-driven solutions. A well-functioning economy relies on informed participants who can allocate resources efficiently; however, a pension system that removes personal agency undermines this fundamental principle.

Furthermore, the government's increasing ability to track and regulate financial transactions—through mechanisms such as PIX and automatic payroll deductions—further restricts economic freedom. This surveillance-oriented approach discourages informal

economic activity and imposes punitive measures on those who seek alternative financial arrangements. Instead of fostering a culture of financial empowerment, the system reinforces a reliance on state-controlled mechanisms, leaving individuals ill-equipped to navigate economic challenges independently.

In contrast, market-based retirement solutions encourage personal responsibility and financial education. When individuals have control over their investments, they naturally seek out knowledge, advice, and strategies to maximize their returns. A system that prioritizes voluntary participation and market competition would not only yield better financial outcomes but also cultivate a more informed and financially literate society.

As Hayek warned in "The Road to Serfdom," excessive government control over financial systems results in inefficiencies and unintended consequences. The Brazilian pension system's structural flaws, including privileged schemes for certain public-sector employees, exacerbate fiscal imbalances and create an unjust burden on private-sector workers. This distortion of incentives aligns with Bastiat's observation in "The Law" that when the state prioritizes certain groups over others, it fosters economic inefficiency and institutionalized unfairness. The current system thus not only misallocates resources but also erodes trust in public institutions and economic governance.

Rothbard's critique of government-imposed social security systems is particularly relevant, as he emphasized the coercive nature of wealth redistribution and its adverse impact on economic freedom. In "Man, Economy, and State," he argues that forced contributions to inefficient government programs reduce individuals' ability to engage in voluntary and productive financial planning. The Brazilian pension system exemplifies this issue, as workers are denied the ability to invest in alternative retirement options that could yield higher returns and greater security. This lack of choice contradicts the fundamental principles of a free-market economy, where individuals should have the right to determine their financial futures without state coercion.

Furthermore, the long-term sustainability of Brazil's pension system is increasingly in question due to demographic shifts and fiscal pressures. The Austrian School's emphasis on economic calculation and market efficiency highlights the dangers of relying on a state-managed, redistributive model that lacks adaptability. Mises' assertion in "Human Action" that government interventions ultimately impoverish rather than enrich individuals rings true in the case of Brazil's pension crisis. As fewer workers are available to support an increasing retiree population, the burden on future generations will only grow, leading to higher taxes, reduced economic growth, and worsening fiscal instability.

A market-based reform, grounded in the principles of economic freedom and voluntary participation, would offer a viable solution to these systemic problems. Transitioning toward a private, contribution-based retirement system would empower individuals to make informed financial decisions, promote competition among pension providers, and foster long-term economic stability. By embracing the insights of Austrian economists, Brazil can move toward a more sustainable and just pension system—one that prioritizes individual choice, financial independence, and economic efficiency over state-imposed redistribution and dependency.

Ultimately, the current pension structure does more than just impose financial constraints—it actively inhibits economic learning and personal agency. By shifting toward decentralized, market-driven retirement solutions, society can promote financial independence while fostering a culture of self-reliance and informed decision-making.

In conclusion, Brazil's pension system exemplifies the dangers of excessive state intervention in economic affairs, as emphasized by Austrian economists such as Ludwig von Mises, Friedrich Hayek, and Murray Rothbard. The pay-as-you-go model, with its reliance on forced contributions and unsustainable redistribution, distorts economic incentives, inhibits financial autonomy, and deepens generational inequality. By coercively extracting wealth from current workers to fund the pensions of retirees, the system not only fails to secure long-term stability but also discourages private savings and investment, limiting overall economic prosperity.