Effective Demand Failures and the Limits of Monetary Stabilization Policy in a Pandemic

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- The orthodoxy that had developed during the "Great Moderation": stabilization policy could be considered essentially a one-dimensional problem

- The questions whether
 - aggregate real activity was in line with the economy's productive potential
 - aggregate nominal spending growth was consistent with price stability
 - real interest rates were in line with the Wicksellian "natural rate" (i.e., the intertemporal relative price associated with an efficient allocation of resources)

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 Hence using interest-rate policy to ensure the last condition should be enough to ensure the others as well

- Events since the global financial crisis of 2008 have cast doubt on the adequacy of the methods previously used to pursue this supposedly one-dimensional objective
 - notably, many central banks reached an "effective lower bound" for their policy rates by late 2008/early 2009, while economic activity remained far below potential (and typically, inflation targets were chronically undershot as well)

- Events since the global financial crisis of 2008 have cast doubt on the adequacy of the methods previously used to pursue this supposedly one-dimensional objective
 - notably, many central banks reached an "effective lower bound" for their policy rates by late 2008/early 2009, while economic activity remained far below potential (and typically, inflation targets were chronically undershot as well)
- Current reviews of monetary policy strategy have particularly focused on the issue: what additional tools can be deployed when conventional monetary policy is constrained by the effective lower bound?

- But discussions of this question have typically taken for granted that a recessionary shock calls for a reduction in real interest rates, and simply sought additional means to reduce real interest rates when the ELB has been reached:
 - experiments with negative interest rates [and perhaps institutional changes to make more sharply negative rates feasible]

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 - calls to increase the inflation target
 - market interventions by the central bank to reduce spreads between longer-term interest rates and the policy rate
- Another possible response: to move away from sole reliance upon interest-rate cuts to stabilize economy in response to recessionary shocks

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- Instead, I will argue that sometimes interest-rate policy is inadequate on its own, not because real interest rates haven't been reduced enough, but because interest-rate policy is the wrong tool to address the fundamental economic problem

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- Another aspect of the pre-GFC orthodoxy regarding stabilization policy: no use of cyclical variation in the government's budget as a tool of stabilization policy
 - not only because it was considered not **necessary** (interest-rate adjustments should suffice); canonical models implied that it should be **ineffective** in any event

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 - not only because it was considered not **necessary** (interest-rate adjustments should suffice); canonical models implied that it should be **ineffective** in any event
- These views defensible, under a particular assumption about the kind of shocks to which the economy would typically be subject:
 - that disturbances to both supply and demand might well occur, but that they would have similar effects on **all parts of the economy** simultaneously

- Consequence of such purely aggregate disturbances: while level of economic activity can vary over time, there is at all times a balanced "circular flow" of payments:
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- As a result, borrowing constraints should not bind (even if many units operate with a low level of liquid asset balances and have difficulty credibly promising to repay debts)
 - spending by all units determined by Euler equation ⇒
 interest-rate policy can simultaneously regulate spending of all
 - timing of lump-sum taxes/transfers shouldn't change intertemporal budget constraint ⇒ transfers ineffective as source of aggregate demand stimulus

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- These assumptions always a simplification: but the economic disturbance resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic provides an example where they are egregiously unsuitable
- For health reasons, part of the economy has had to be shut down (theaters, restaurants, etc.) while many other goods and services can still be supplied (no material change in either costs of supply or utility from consuming them)
- In the case of such a shock, it is **efficient** for aggregate GDP to fall (abruptly, and perhaps dramatically, relative to a normal recession)
 - but the reduction in economic activity that actually occurs (in absence of a policy response) may be **much deeper** than would be efficient

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 - this can easily cause **borrowing constraints** to bind, resulting in a failure of what Keynes called **effective demand**
- Most obviously, there can be insufficient effective demand for the things that the immediately impacted sectors ought still to purchase
 - restaurant workers ought still to be able to consume food, shelter, medical services, etc.; but may not be able to when their incomes collapse

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- But the effective demand shortfall can also propagate
 - if restaurant workers can't pay rent, their landlords may have to lay off maintenance workers, and fail to pay taxes; shortfall of property tax revenue may require city to lay off municipal employees; and so on
 - severity of the overall impact on economic activity depends on network structure of payments

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- But the effective demand shortfall can also propagate
 - if restaurant workers can't pay rent, their landlords may have to lay off maintenance workers, and fail to pay taxes; shortfall of property tax revenue may require city to lay off municipal employees; and so on
 - severity of the overall impact on economic activity depends on network structure of payments
- Moreover, the insufficiency of effective demand isn't a problem to which interest-rate cuts provide an adequate answer
 - many units borrowing-constrained ⇒ interest-rate cuts stimulate some kinds of spending, but don't result in efficient composition of spending

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- On the other hand, situation is one in which fiscal transfers can improve matters
 - not only increasing aggregate demand, but allowing more efficient composition
- Even if indiscriminately targeted,
 - sufficiently large transfers can achieve the ex-ante optimal allocation of resources [effectively provide social insurance]
 - and [whether that large or not] bring about an ex-post Pareto improvement

- An N-sector "yeoman farmer" model: in each sector, a continuum of producer/consumers of equal (unit) size
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 - specialized in producing one product (the product of that sector), but consuming the products of other sectors as well
- ullet Order the sectors on a circle, and use modulo-N arithmetic for addition or substraction of numbers from sectoral indices (sector N+1 is same as sector 1, sector -1 same as sector N-1)

• Preferences of a sector *j* producer/consumer: max

$$\sum_{t=0}^{\infty} \beta^t U^j(t)$$

where $0 < \beta < 1$, and in each period

$$U^{j}(t) = \sum_{k \in K} \alpha_{k} u(c_{j+k}^{j}(t)/\alpha_{k}) - v(y_{j}(t))$$

• the $\{\alpha_k\}$ are a set of coefficients satisfying $\alpha_k \geq 0$ for all $0 \leq k \leq N-1$; K is the subset of k for which $\alpha_k > 0$

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- Weights $\{\alpha_k\}$: same for all sectors (network structure has rotational symmetry)



$$U^{j}(t) = \sum_{k \in K} \alpha_{k} u(c^{j}_{j+k}(t)/\alpha_{k}; \xi_{t}) - v(y_{j}(t); \xi_{t})$$

- The coefficients $\{\alpha_k\}$ determine the **network structure** of the flow of payments in the economy:
 - we assume that $\sum_k \alpha_k = 1 \Rightarrow$ if all goods have the same price, optimal allocation of expenditure by any sector will be

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where $c^{j}(t)$ is total real expenditure by j

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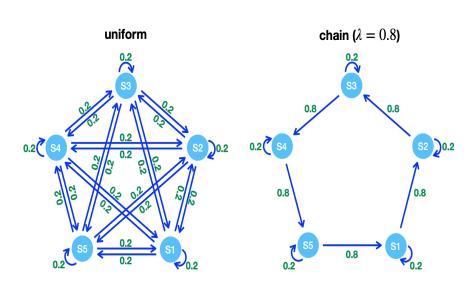
$$c_{j+k}^{j}(t) = \alpha_k \cdot c^{j}(t)$$

where $c^{j}(t)$ is total real expenditure by j

• we also assume that $\alpha_0, \alpha_1 > 0$



Examples of Network Structure



An N-Sector Model

- We consider the effects of a "pandemic shock":
 - at t = 0, people learn that there can be no production or consumption of the good produced by some sector p in period zero
 - if occurs, lasts only for one period, and (for simplicity) not expected ever to recur
 - equal ex ante probability of each sector's being the affected one

An N-Sector Model

- Before the state at t = 0 is learned, model has complete rotational symmetry
- Hence all sectors agree on the ex ante ranking of possible policies to pursue from t=0 onward:
 - want the highest possible value of

$$\sum_{j=1}^{N} \sum_{t=0}^{\infty} \beta^t U^j(t)$$

given the state revealed at t = 0

First-Best Optimal Resource Allocation

• If no pandemic: optimal to have $y_k(t) = \bar{y}$ for all sectors, and $c_k^j(t) = \alpha_{k-j}\bar{y}$ each period, where \bar{y} satisfies

$$u'(\bar{y}) = v'(\bar{y})$$

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- same as for 1-sector model
- If instead **pandemic shock** requires sector p to shut down in period zero: optimal to have $y_p(0) = 0$, but still

$$y_k(0) = \bar{y}, \qquad c_k^j = \alpha_{k-j}\bar{y} \text{ for all } j$$

for all sectors $k \neq p$; and same allocation as before in all $t \geq 1$

— only production and consumption of sector p good in period 0 should change

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- We assume the existence of a **perfect foresight equilibrium** from t=0 onward (given the shock and the policy response), as there is no further uncertainty to resolve
- Markets: we assume that each period, there are
 - spot markets for each of the goods [for which exchange has not been prohibited for public health reasons], with a money price p_j(t) for good j
 - trading in a one-period nominal asset, earning nominal interest rate i(t) between periods t and t+1

• Budget constraints in period t of a unit in sector j:

$$\sum_{k=1}^{N} p_k(t) c_k^j(t) + b^j(t) = p_j(t) y_j(t) + a^j(t), \qquad b^j(t) \ge 0$$

where $a^j(t)$ is beginning asset balances (after any taxes or transfers) and $b^j(t)$ are ending asset balances (required to be non-negative: a **borrowing constraint**)

Asset balances evolve according to

$$a^{j}(t+1) = b^{j}(t)(1+i(t)) - \tau(t+1)$$

where au(t+1) is a lump-sum tax collection (assumed the same for all sectors, in all periods from 1 onwards)

- We allow monetary policy to affect the real allocation of resources by supposing that all goods prices are fixed one period in advance, in a way that is expected to clear markets
 - since no uncertainty to resolve at dates $t \ge 1$, this means that prices will clear all goods markets in those periods
 - because we assume a symmetric situation prior to possible realization of an asymmetric shock at t=0, the prices fixed for period zero will satisfy $p_j(0)=\bar{p}$ for all j
 - the exact value of \bar{p} does not matter for results below

Policy tools to consider:

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- lump-sum fiscal transfers and taxes:
 - in this lecture, consider only uniform transfers [same to all sectors] in period zero, and uniform lump-sum taxes in subsequent periods
 - thus can specify fiscal policy by a path $\{a(t)\}$ of the public debt [satisfying transversality condition]
 - implied lump-sum tax obligation each period the one required to achieve this path for debt

The Case of Only Aggregate Shocks

- If only aggregate shocks, and sectors start out with equal asset balances: then the optimal resource allocation is obtained as equilibrium under a policy with
 - no fiscal transfers when the shock is realized
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 - no fiscal transfers when the shock is realized
 - real public debt kept constant forever
 - interest rate given by a Taylor rule, the intercept of which tracks the variation in the "natural rate of interest"
- Notably, an appropriately state-contingent monetary policy suffices to deal with all such shocks
- And uniform fiscal transfers to all sectors will have no effect, even if ZLB binds

• Can the **first-best optimal allocation** be supported as an equilibrium?

- Can the first-best optimal allocation be supported as an equilibrium?
- If there exists an efficient ex ante market for pandemic insurance, the answer is YES
 - doesn't even require any different monetary or fiscal policy than the ones prescribed above in the case of only aggregate shocks

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- Result can be an equilibrium with much greater reduction of economic activity than in the efficient allocation, owing to a collapse of effective demand:
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- Consider first the **limiting case** in which $a(0) \rightarrow 0$
 - note that in the event of only aggregate shocks, this creates no inefficiency

• Each sector's spending, given pandemic shock: can no longer purchase good 1, but [given equal prices for all goods $k \neq 1$] must equate marginal utility of consumption of all other goods

• hence
$$c_k^j(0) \sim lpha_{k-j}$$
 for all $k
eq 1$

• it follows that

$$c_k^j(0) = A_{kj}c^j(0),$$

where

$$A_{kj} \equiv rac{lpha_{k-j}}{1-lpha_{1-j}} \quad ext{for all } k
eq 1$$
 $\equiv 0 \quad ext{for } k = 1$

• When $a(0) \to 0$, eq'm allocation with the pandemic shock approaches one in which $b^j(0) = 0$ for all sectors [only way to satisfy both $b^j(0) \ge 0$ for all j and $\sum_i b_i(0) = a(0) = 0$]

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- Hence we must have $c^k(0) = y_k(0) = \sum_j A_{kj}c^j(0)$ for all $k \Rightarrow$ vector of spending levels c(0) must be a **right eigenvector** of A, with **eigenvalue 1**

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- We can show that A has a unique right eigenvector π [which we normalize so that $\sum_j \pi_j = 1$] with eigenvalue 1; moreover,
 - all elements $\pi_j \ge 0$ [note: $\pi_1 = 0$]
 - all other eigenvalues of ${\it A}$ have modulus less than 1, so that $\lim_{k o \infty} {\it A}^k = \pi {\it e'}$
 - π is just the vector of **stationary probabilities**, if $\bf A$ is the transition probability matrix for a Markov chain

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for each sector j; and for this to be the limit of a sequence of eq'a with a(0) > 0, there must be at least one sector for which the Euler condition holds with equality

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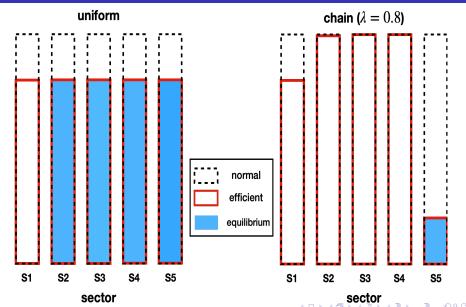
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- hence the unique solution is given by $heta = \min_j rac{(1-lpha_{1-j})}{\pi_j} ar{y} > 0$
- Severity of the effective demand shortfall depends critically on the network structure of payments [vector π depends on the matrix A]

Examples: Alternative Network Structures (N = 5)



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• Thus we still must have $c(0) = \theta \pi$, but now

$$\theta = \min_{j} \frac{(1 - \alpha_{1-j})}{\pi_{j}} \, \hat{y}(i(0)) > 0$$

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- Extreme example: assume "chain network" and v(y) = vy
 - then consumption and output increase **only** in sector N, and that increased activity **lowers** welfare
- More generally: some reduction of real interest can raise ex ante welfare; but **not** optimal to cut interest rates as far as needed to get **aggregate** output to its optimal level [even if this is feasible, despite ZLB]

- It's a mistake to identify the degree to which shock results in output below the efficient level with the degree to which it justifies a reduction in the interest rate
 - in extreme example, output is far below efficient level [zero output in all sectors but N], yet an interest-rate cut reduces welfare

- It's a mistake to identify the degree to which shock results in output below the efficient level with the degree to which it justifies a reduction in the interest rate
 - in extreme example, output is far below efficient level [zero output in all sectors but N], yet an interest-rate cut reduces welfare
- Moreover, contrary to what can be shown in the case of aggregate shocks, here there is no monetary policy response that can achieve the efficient allocation of resources
 - perhaps not even any that can improve upon the no-response outcome

• What can be achieved instead with lump-sum transfers?

- What can be achieved instead with lump-sum transfers?
- If we restrict attention to policies such that (a) path of public debt satisfies the TVC, and (b) taxes levied in periods $t \ge 1$ are never large enough to cause borrowing constraints to bind on any sector for $t \ge 1$ [note: this is possible, regardless of period zero transfers], then equilibrium outcomes depend only on lump-sum transfers in period zero
 - thus we can consider the effects of such policies by considering equilibrium for an arbitrary vector of **initial asset** positions $\{a^j(0)\}$ [post-transfer]

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- In this case we again have the Euler condition

$$u'\left(\frac{c^{j}(0)}{1-\alpha_{1-j}}; \bar{\xi}\right) \geq u'(\bar{y}; \bar{\xi}) \quad \Leftrightarrow \quad c^{j}(0) \leq (1-\alpha_{1-j})\bar{y}$$

A Multidimensional "Keynesian Cross"

Expenditure by each sector k will then equal

$$c^k(0) = \min\left\{\frac{a^k(0)}{\bar{p}} + \sum_j A_{kj}c^j(0), c^{*k}\right\}$$
 where $c^{*k} \equiv (1-\alpha_{1-k})\bar{y}$.

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Writing equilibrium conditions in vector form:

$$c(0) = \min \left\{ rac{1}{ar{
ho}} oldsymbol{a}(0) + oldsymbol{A} c(0), \ c^*
ight\}$$

A Multidimensional "Keynesian Cross"

Expenditure by each sector k will then equal

$$c^k(0) = \min\left\{\frac{a^k(0)}{\bar{p}} + \sum_j A_{kj}c^j(0), c^{*k}\right\}$$
 where $c^{*k} \equiv (1-\alpha_{1-k})\bar{y}$.

Writing equilibrium conditions in vector form:

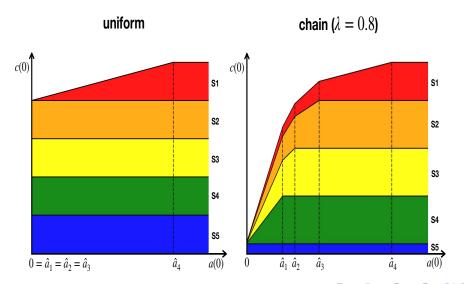
$$c(0) = \min \left\{ rac{1}{ar{
ho}} oldsymbol{a}(0) + oldsymbol{A} c(0), \ c^*
ight\}$$

• For any vector a(0) >> 0, RHS defines a positive concave operator that necessarily has a **unique fixed point** c(a(0)) >> 0

- The "multiplier" effect of a given transfer depends on
 - the fraction of it that goes to sectors that are borrowing-constrained
 - the fraction of the increased spending by those constrained sectors that is on products of sectors that are also borrowing-constrained
 - the fraction of that second-round increased spending that is on products of sectors that are also borrowing-constrained, etc.

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 - the fraction of it that goes to sectors that are borrowing-constrained
 - the fraction of the increased spending by those constrained sectors that is on products of sectors that are also borrowing-constrained
 - the fraction of that second-round increased spending that is on products of sectors that are also borrowing-constrained, etc.
- As transfers are increased [or pre-transfer asset balances are simply larger], progressively fewer sectors continue to be borrowing-constrained
 multipliers decrease
 - eventually fall to zero once initial assets are large enough

Example: N = 5, Two Network Structures



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- In fact, not only can one show that ex ante welfare is (at least weakly) increased, but ex post welfare is (at least weakly) increased for each sector: an ex post Pareto improvement!
- Ex post welfare of sector j [in $\beta \to 1$ limit]:

$$W^{j} = U^{j}(0) + u'(\bar{y}) \cdot [b^{j}(0) - (a(0)/N)]$$

$$= \sum_{k} \left[\alpha_{k} u \left(\frac{c_{j+k}^{j}}{\alpha_{k}} \right) - u'(\bar{y}) c_{j+k}^{j} \right] + [v'(\bar{y}) y_{j} - v(y_{j}(0))]$$

note that every term must be at least weakly increasing.

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- Moreover, large enough transfers support the **first-best** allocation of resources as an equilibrium [in the $\beta \to 1$ limiting case]
 - simply requires that $a(0) \geq N \cdot (1 \alpha_0) \bar{p} \bar{y}$, at which point borrowing constraints no longer bind for any sector

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 - simply requires that $a(0) \geq N \cdot (1 \alpha_0) \bar{p} \bar{y}$, at which point borrowing constraints no longer bind for any sector
- Advantage of fiscal transfers over interest-rate policy:
 - in this example, pandemic shock does not reduce the Wicksellian natural rate of interest ⇒ real interest-rate reduction necessarily creates distortions, even if average welfare increased
 - instead, fiscal transfers don't stimulate inefficient expenditure of any kind, because units receiving unnecessary transfers are able to save them

Conclusions

- The fact that a pandemic shock reduces economic activity —
 and even the fact that it reduces activity relative to the
 efficient level of activity does not imply that interest-rate
 cuts are called for
 - in the model, fiscal transfers can achieve the first-best allocation of resources, without any reduction in interest rates
 - moreover, one can show that it is only in the case of no reduction in interest rates that the first-best outcome is achievable

Conclusions

• Thus the fact that output remains inefficiently low, even after interest rates have been reduced to their effective lower bound, does not mean that the existence of an effective lower **bound** is the real source of the problem

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- Thus the fact that output remains inefficiently low, even after interest rates have been reduced to their effective lower bound, does not mean that the existence of an effective lower bound is the real source of the problem
- To the extent that it is not, there may be less to be gained from innovations such as raising the inflation target, or abolishing currency than is often argued