# 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

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— 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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• 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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- 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)

- 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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 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

• 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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• Moreover, the insufficiency of effective demand isn't a problem to which **interest-rate cuts** provide an adequate answer

— many units borrowing-constrained  $\Rightarrow$  interest-rate cuts stimulate **some kinds** of spending, but don't result in **efficient composition** of spending

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- 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

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• 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

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

the {α<sub>k</sub>} are a set of coefficients satisfying α<sub>k</sub> ≥ 0 for all 0 ≤ k ≤ N − 1; K is the subset of k for which α<sub>k</sub> > 0

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- Weights {α<sub>k</sub>}: same for all sectors (network structure has rotational symmetry)

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

- The coefficients {α<sub>k</sub>} 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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• 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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• If instead **pandemic shock** requires sector p to shut down in period zero: optimal to have  $y_p(0) = 0$ , but still

$$y_k(0) = ar{y}, \qquad c_k^j = lpha_{k-j}ar{y}$$
 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 are interested in the equilibrium allocations that can be achieved in a **decentralized market economy**, using a particular (limited) set of possible stabilization policies
- 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<sub>j</sub>(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  $\tau(t+1)$  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 ≥ 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<sub>i</sub>(0) = p̄ for all j
    - the exact value of  $\bar{p}$  does not matter for results below

Policy tools to consider:

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- monetary policy: central bank sets interest rate *i*(*t*) in each period *t* ≥ 0 [consistent with *i*(*t*) ≥ 0]
- 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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  - 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?

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- 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 ≠ 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

$$egin{array}{rcl} A_{kj}&\equiv&rac{lpha_{k-j}}{1-lpha_{1-j}} & ext{for all } k
ot=1 \ \end{array}$$

• When  $a(0) \rightarrow 0$ , 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<sup>k</sup>(0) = y<sub>k</sub>(0) = ∑<sub>j</sub> A<sub>kj</sub>c<sup>j</sup>(0) for all k ⇒ 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  $\pi$  [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 **A** have modulus less than 1, so that  $\lim_{k\to\infty} \pmb{A}^k = \pi \pmb{e'}$

—  $\pi$  is just the vector of **stationary probabilities**, if **A** is the transition probability matrix for a Markov chain

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3

- Thus we must have  $oldsymbol{c}(0)= heta \pi$  for some scalar  $heta\geq 0$
- Moreover, c(0) must satisfy the Euler condition

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

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

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# Examples: Alternative Network Structures (N = 5)



chain ( $\lambda = 0.8$ )



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• Thus we still must have  $oldsymbol{c}(0)= hetaoldsymbol{\pi}$ , but now

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

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— then consumption and output increase **only** in sector N, and that increased activity **lowers** welfare

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 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]

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• 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 ≥ 1 are never large enough to cause borrowing constraints to bind on any sector for t ≥ 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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### A Multidimensional "Keynesian Cross"

• Expenditure by each sector k will then equal

$$c^{k}(0) = \min\left\{rac{a^{k}(0)}{ar{p}} + \sum_{j}A_{kj}c^{j}(0), c^{*k}
ight\}$$

where  $c^{*k} \equiv (1 - \alpha_{1-k})\bar{y}$ .

# A Multidimensional "Keynesian Cross"

• Expenditure by each sector k will then equal

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• Writing equilibrium conditions in vector form:

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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
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- 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

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# Example: N = 5, Two Network Structures



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Pandemic Shocks

Jean Monnet Lecture 2020

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- Ex post welfare of sector  $j [in \beta \rightarrow 1 \text{ limit}]$ :

$$W^{j} = U^{j}(0) + u'(\bar{y}) \cdot [b^{j}(0) - (a(0)/N)]$$
  
=  $\sum_{k} \left[ \alpha_{k} u \left( \frac{c_{j+k}^{j}}{\alpha_{k}} \right) - u'(\bar{y}) c_{j+k}^{j} \right] + [v'(\bar{y}) y_{j} - v(y_{j}(0))]$ 

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  $\beta \rightarrow 1$ limiting case]
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  - simply requires that  $a(0) \ge N \cdot (1 \alpha_0) \bar{p} \bar{y}$ , 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

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# 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