

Monetary Policy and its Unintended Consequences (MIT Press)

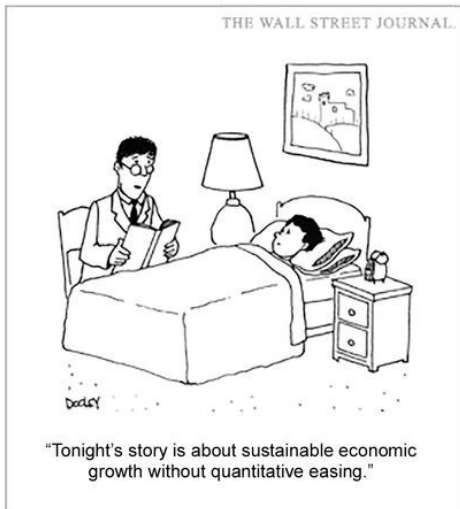
Monetary Policy and Its
Unintended Consequences

Raghuram Rajan



The University of Chicago Booth School of Business

What is this book about?





Introduction

- Two issues.
 - High inflation, worries about fiscal and financial dominance.
 - Do central banks have any responsibility here?
 - How should central bank frameworks change?
 - Inflation/financial stability
- Use Fed often as an example.



What led us to the current monetary situation...

- Recent events ...
- But much had changed before them
 - Post GFC lowflation



Pressure on central banks before pandemic

- From the political side
- Pressure from the foreign exchange market
- Central bankers also did not reject the responsibility.
- No obvious playbook though at ZLB.

What did the central banks do?



- Embarked on unconventional monetary policy.
 - Repairing markets
 - Alter asset prices through asset purchases, including of government debt (QE)
 - Forward guidance
 - Directed credit programs



What did the central banks do? Contd.

- Changed framework
 - Commit to being more relaxed about inflation (or rationally irresponsible in Paul Krugman's words).

Micro effects of these actions



- Asset prices rose and leverage built up.
- We have some evidence for the micro-effects of unconventional monetary policy.



Macro effects of these actions

- At the macro level on rates
- But broader macro impacts, including on real activity, are harder to discern.



Other effects, intended or otherwise: Future fiscal pressure

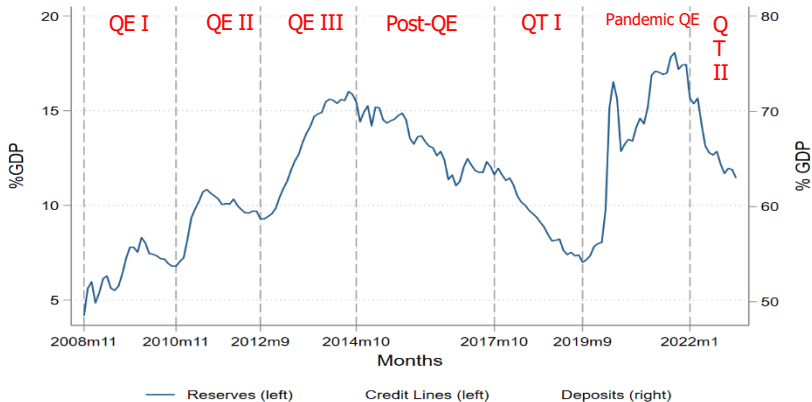
- Anaesthetize government bond markets
- Shorten maturity
- When interest rates move up....
- Fiscal dominance?



Other effects: Commercial bank balance sheet expansion

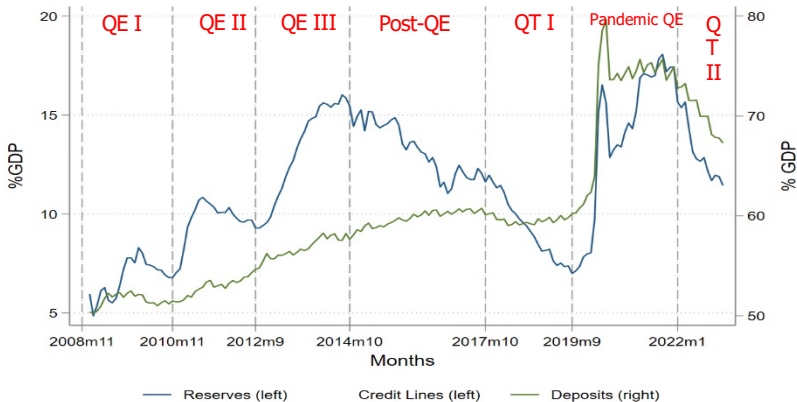
- Under QE, central bank balance sheets have expanded
- Commercial bank balance sheets also have expanded
 - Commercial banks increase holdings of reserves, financed with uninsured demandable deposits.
 - Reduce time deposits
 - Increase credit lines

Reserves and Claims (% of GDP)

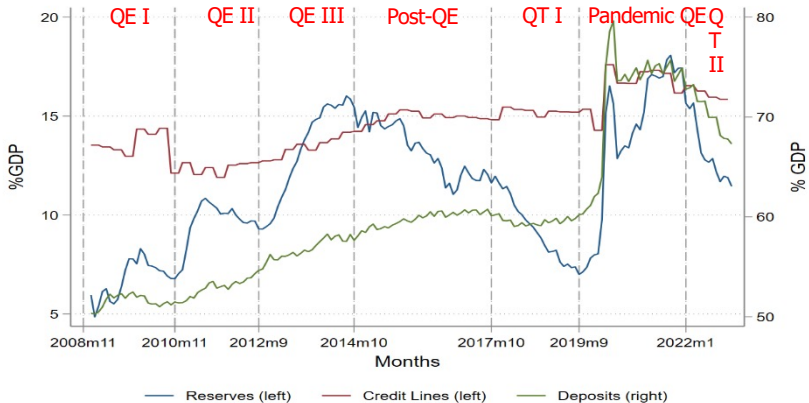


Acharya, Chauhan, Rajan, and Steffens (2023)

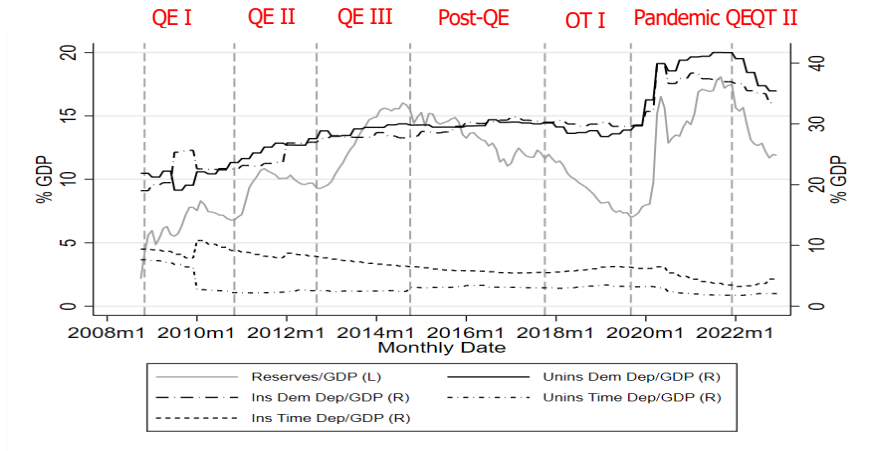
Reserves and Claims (% of GDP)



Reserves and Claims (% of GDP)

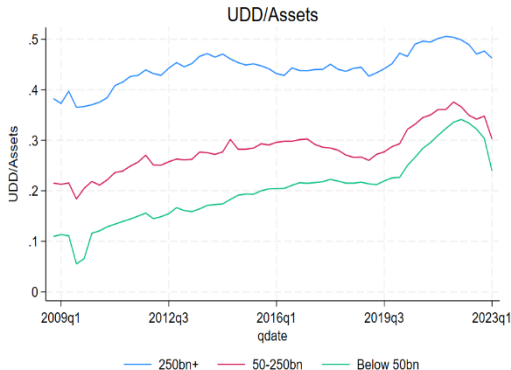


Uninsured/Insured Demandable/Time Deposits (Prop. of GDP)



Ratcheting-up of Uninsured Demand Deposits

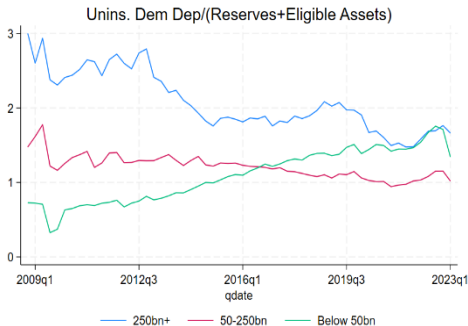
Date	>\$250 billion	\$50-250 billion	< \$50 billion
2008Q3	35.8	20.9	10.4
2014Q3	46.1	30.1	18.3
2019Q3	44.1	27.7	21.9
2019Q4	45.1	28.7	22.5
2021Q4	50.4	37.6	33.5
2022Q4	49.8	34.8	30.3
2023Q1	46.2	30.2	23.9



Ratcheting-up of Liquidity Risk

Claims to Liquidity/Potential Liquidity = Uninsured
Demandable Deposits / (Reserves + Eligible Assets)

Date	>\$250 billion	\$50-250 billion	< \$50 billion
2008Q3	3.77	2.5	0.76
2014Q3	1.93	1.35	0.95
2019Q3	1.97	1.11	1.47
2019Q4	1.97	1.15	1.51
2021Q4	1.48	1.02	1.47
2022Q4	1.76	1.15	1.71
2023Q1	1.66	1.02	1.34



Largest banks becoming safer, smallest banks increasingly at risk of illiquidity

Consequences of all these changes



- Unfortunately, covid upset the best laid plans.
 - Real disruptions, fiscal expansion, monetary easing, including balance sheet expansion.
 - Cannot react to inflation early.
 - So the Fed delayed and then had to catch up.



Risks also were higher in banking system

- Already shown liability side changes.
 - Also, reserves moved to liquid long term securities.
- When rates start rising, and QE shifts to QT...
 - Liquidity risk and solvency risk come to the fore
 - Deposit inflows turn to outflow.



Even with little QT,

- Failure of 4 US banks in March 2023, and subsequently some mergers.
- Unprecedented Fed and Treasury intervention
- Converted a possible panic into a slower burning problem.
- Financial dominance?




Bottom line 1

- Financial stability and monetary policy have become deeply intertwined.
 - Many central bankers would not agree.
 - Separation principle?



Not even addressed fiscal dominance

- Role of QE in limiting fiscal concerns as Congress/Parliaments spend.
- Consequences of QE in raising interest sensitivity of consolidated debt
- Unpleasant fiscal arithmetic (Sargent and Wallace).



What should central banks do going forward?

- Augustin Carstens (GM, BIS) pointed out to the possibility of two inflation regimes.
- Low inflation regime – price shocks do not feed on each other
 - Inflation may be too low – below targets
- High inflation regime – price shocks become more correlated and become generalized inflation quickly
 - Need to react quickly to head off generalized inflation.
- Maybe need a different framework for each regime.
 - Is that possible?



A framework for all seasons

- Need framework for all regimes: pick your poison
- Transition between low to high inflation regime under a relaxed framework is really problematic
 - Wait too long
 - Financial risks build up when policy accommodative
 - Financial instability as central bank tries to catch up by raising rates quickly.



Bottom line 2

- Pick the framework that contains high inflation
 - Don't worry too much about low inflation unless it becomes galloping deflation.
 - The cure may be worse than the disease.
- Central banks can achieve more by doing less.