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# Inflation and the Policy Response to Supply Shocks

**Charles Goodhart and Manoj Pradhan**

# Our Focus: Global, the Supply Side

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**Our focus** is distinctive in two respects:

- It is **global**, not national.
- It emphasises **supply**, rather than demand.

With this in mind, we shall now study **three periods**:

- (i) Recent Disinflationary Past
  - (ii) The Current Spike, and how to handle it
  - (iii) The Medium-Term Future
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# The Recent Disinflationary Past

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**Three narratives** to explain it:

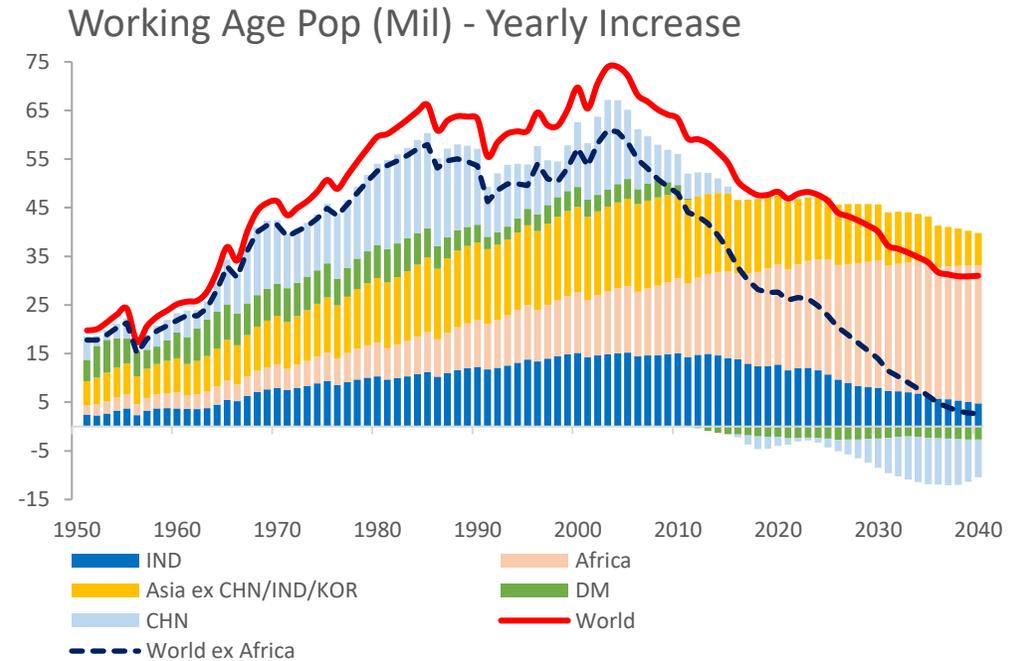
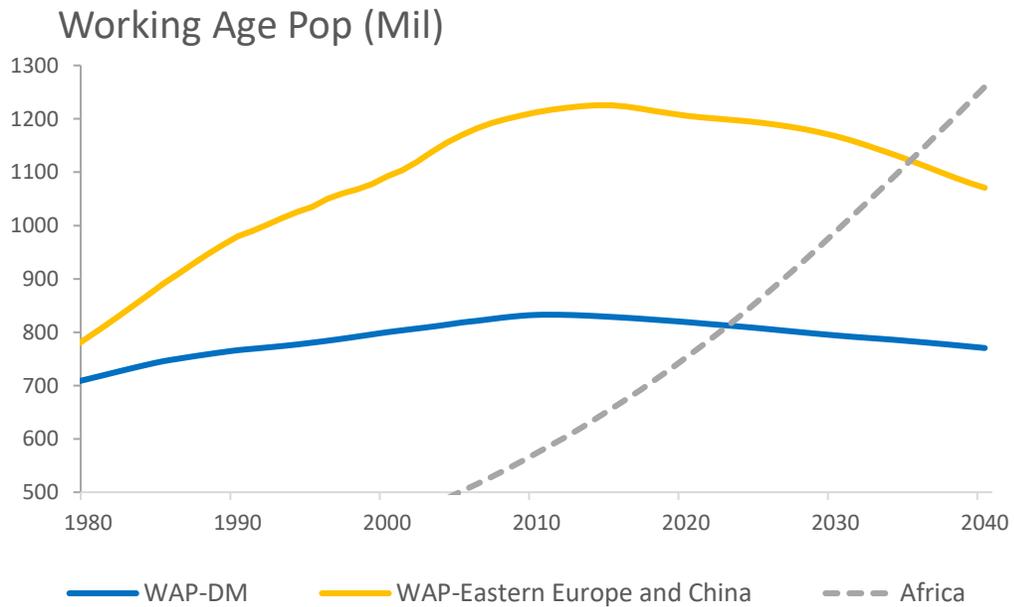
- (a) Successful Central Bank policy
- (b) Savings Glut; Secular Stagnation; negative demand shock
- (c) Labour Supply Surge; Positive Supply shock

Not mutually exclusive. Our focus has been on (c).

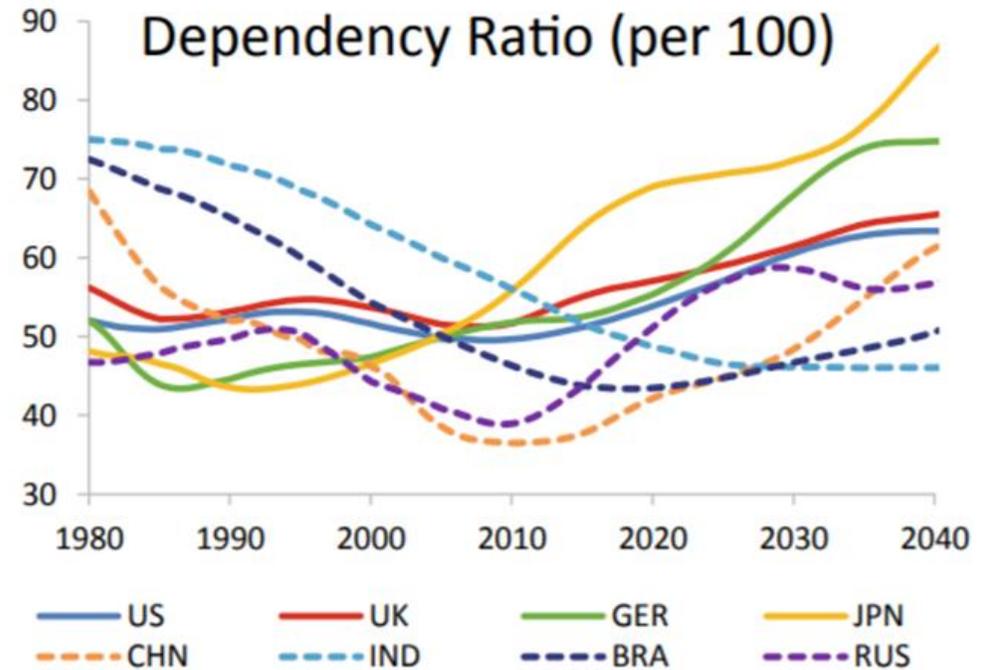
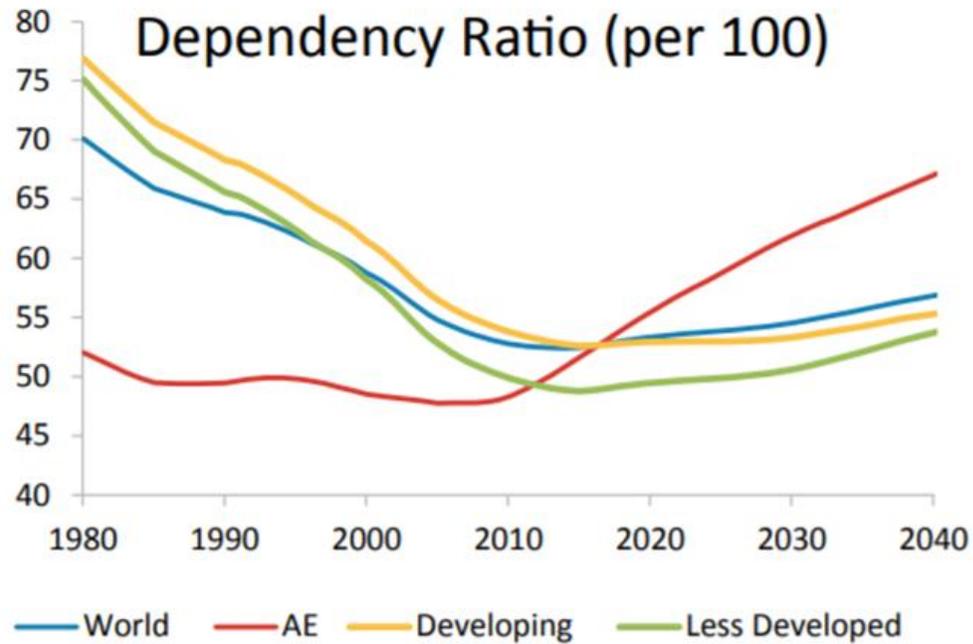
Both (b) and (c) are greatly influenced by China.

Both affect inflation similarly, but output differently.

# Working age populations falling globally



# Dependency Ratios are Rising in the AEs and North Asia



# Dependency Ratios Rising Due to the Old, Not the Young

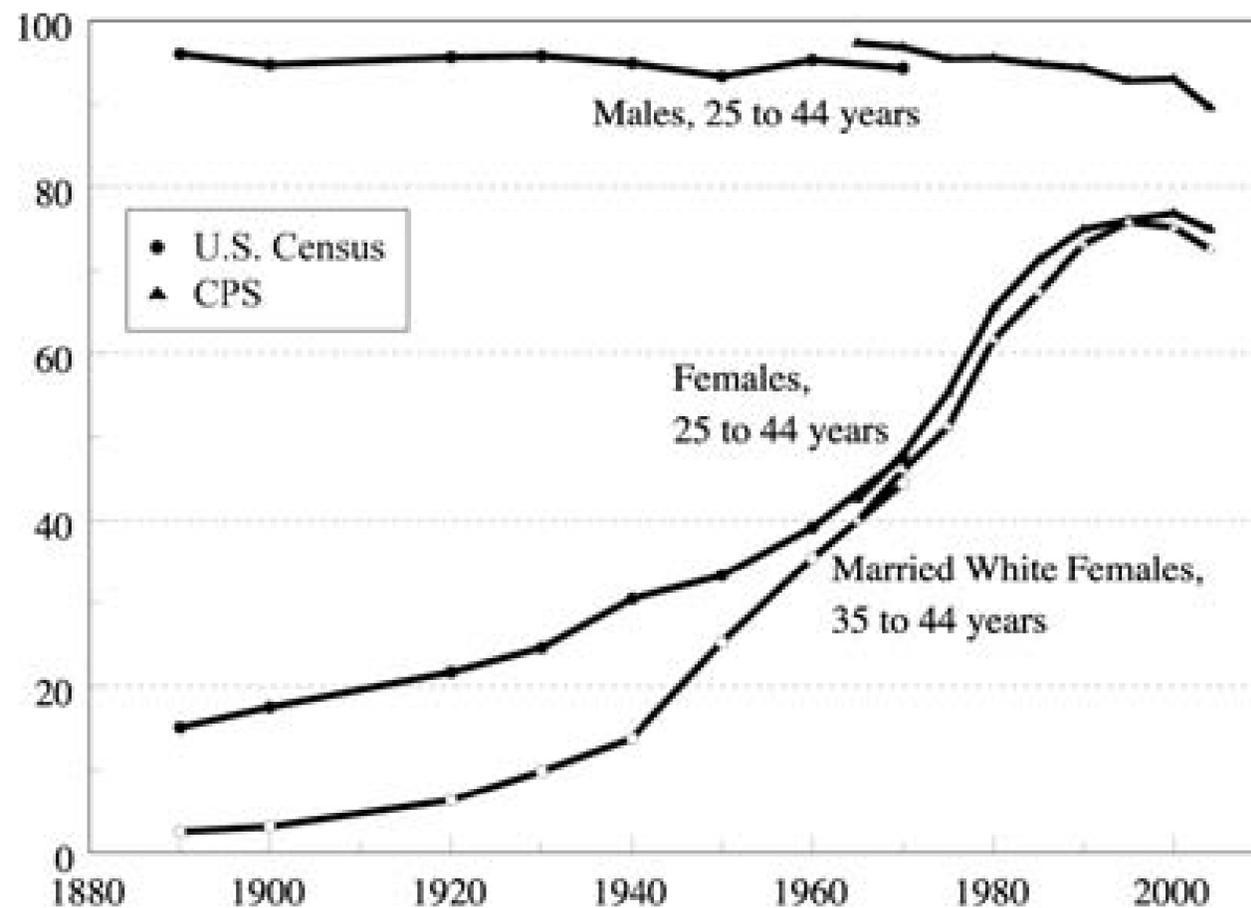
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	USA	UK	Germany	Japan	China
<i>Young</i>					
1970	28	24	23	24	40
2010	20	17	14	13	19
Change 1970–2010:	–8	–7	–9	–11	–21
2010	20	17	14	13	19
2019	19	18	14	13	18
Change 2010–2019:	–1	1	0	0	–1
<i>Retiree</i>					
1970	10	13	24	7	4
2010	13	17	21	22	8
Change 1970–2010:	3	4	–3	15	4
2010	13	17	21	22	8
2019	16	19	22	28	11
Change 2010–2019:	3	2	1	6	3

Source UN Population Statistics

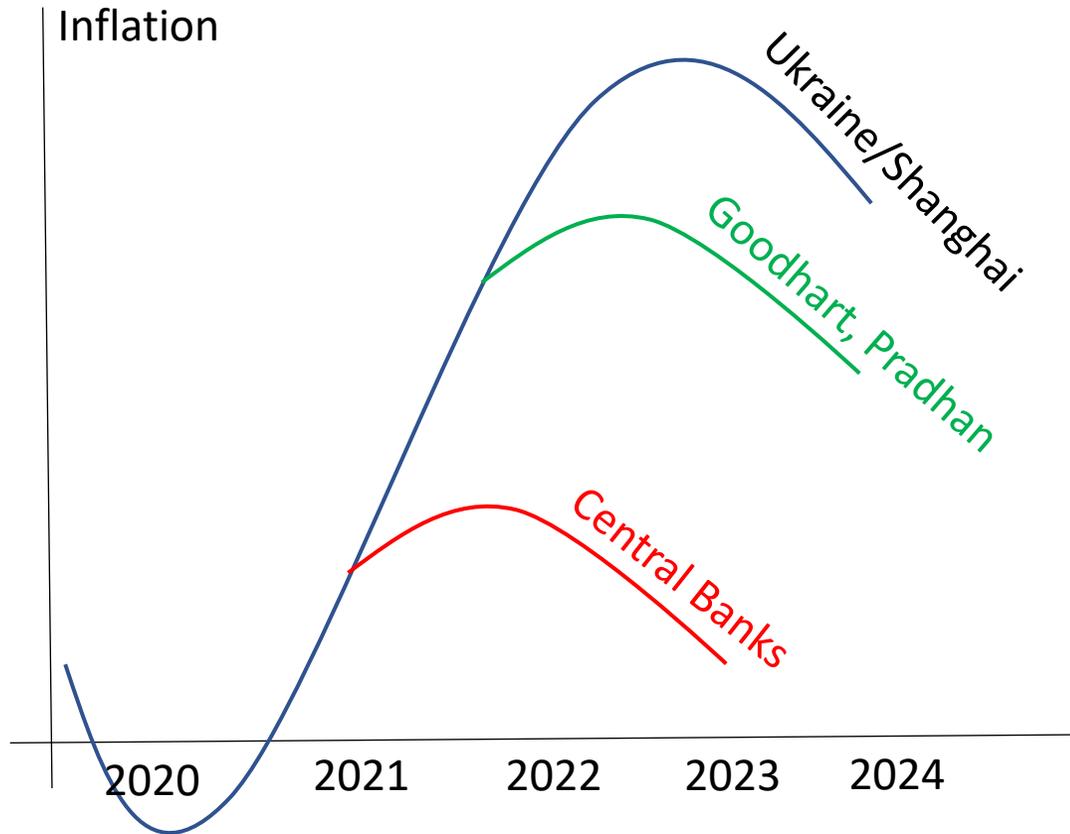
# The Quiet Revolution That Transformed Women's Employment

Labour force participation rates for females and males by age and marital status: 1890-2004



# The Current Inflation Surge

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## **Demand shock:**

Fiscal policy, especially in USA  
Monetary surge, especially in 2020  
Summers/Blanchard

## **Supply shock:**

Labour tightening, widespread  
The Great Resignation  
Covid supply shocks; not over, China  
And now Ukraine

## **Central Banks a long way behind**

Taylor rule:

$$i = r^* + 1.5 (\pi - \pi^*) + 1.0 (Y - Y^*)$$

# How to Respond to this Surge?

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When the disturbance is large, both expectations and wage/price adjustments will react to what *has* happened, not just to expectations of *future* inflation.

Central Bank confidence in anchored expectations is overly optimistic.

A wage/price spiral is beginning in the USA/UK, if perhaps not yet in EU.

# Should Nominal Interest Rates Rise Faster or Slower?

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## **Arguments for Faster Increase on Nominal Interest Rates**

- (i) Way behind curve.
- (ii) Real rates exceptionally low and still falling.
- (iii) Central Banks losing credibility.
- (iv) If not now, may require even more restriction and recession, as stagflation takes hold.

## **Arguments for Slower Increase in Nominal Interest Rates**

- (i) Financial and housing markets in extreme territory and unprepared for sharp rises.
  - (ii) A soft landing may still be possible.
  - (iii) Ukraine will cause a major decline in real incomes. Much worse in Europe and UK, which import energy and grain, than in USA, which exports these. No wish for policy to add to pressure.
  - (iv) Uncertainty is high. When uncertain, do not make large changes.
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# The Medium-Term Future

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The **ECB, BoE** are currently accepting arguments for slow and steady.

The **Fed** has recently turned more hawkish.

Some **EME** Central Banks have already been forced to respond more urgently.

**It will be a difficult exercise to return inflation to target without having to raise unemployment, perhaps significantly.** Concerns about the stability of employment and financial markets may restrain the speed with which interest rates are raised. This makes it quite likely that the result, at least for the time being, might be stagflation.

If stagflation, then following concerns:-

- Central Bank Independence
  - Fragmentation in EU
  - Effects on Politics more broadly.
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# Longer-Term: The Next Few Decades

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**Dominated by Demography**, which is largely predictable, and geo-politics, which is not.

**Demography will be adverse.** Falling WAP and rising dependency ratios, except in Africa.

**Geo-politics adverse** for the time being.

## **Other Factors:**

- |  |                       |
|--|-----------------------|
| (i) Reversal of globalisation          | Raises inflation      |
| (ii) Climate change (see Schnabel)     | Raises Inflation      |
| (iii) Africa                           | Could lower inflation |
| (iv) Technology                        | Could lower inflation |
| (v) Medical Advances, e.g. on Dementia | Could lower inflation |
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# The Pushback To Our Long Term Thesis

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## Why Didn't It Happen in Japan?

- “Why didn't it happen in Japan”, “Japan should inflate first” are similar(ly flawed) questions
- Japan aged when the rest of the world was flooded with labour – O-FDI provides some evidence

## The Elderly and Savings

- Mian, Straub, Sufi see inequality as predetermined, we see it as endogenous to global demography
- Most empirical extrapolations of ageing vs saving ignore the exponential incidence of dementia with age

## Technology

- We need as much mechanization as possible. No shortage of jobs today, or in the distant future

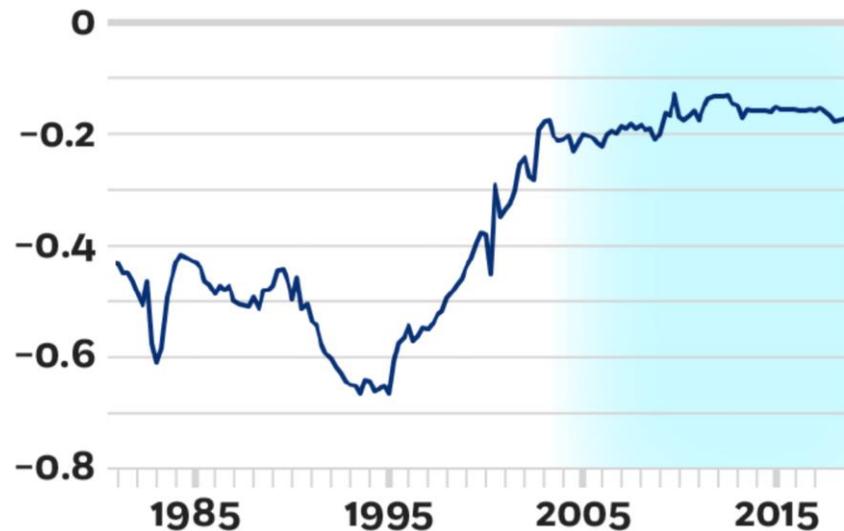
## Environmental Perspective

- Inflationary (Schnabel, March 2022, “A new age of energy inflation”)
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# The Fed Didn't Kill the Phillips Curve, China Put it in a Coma

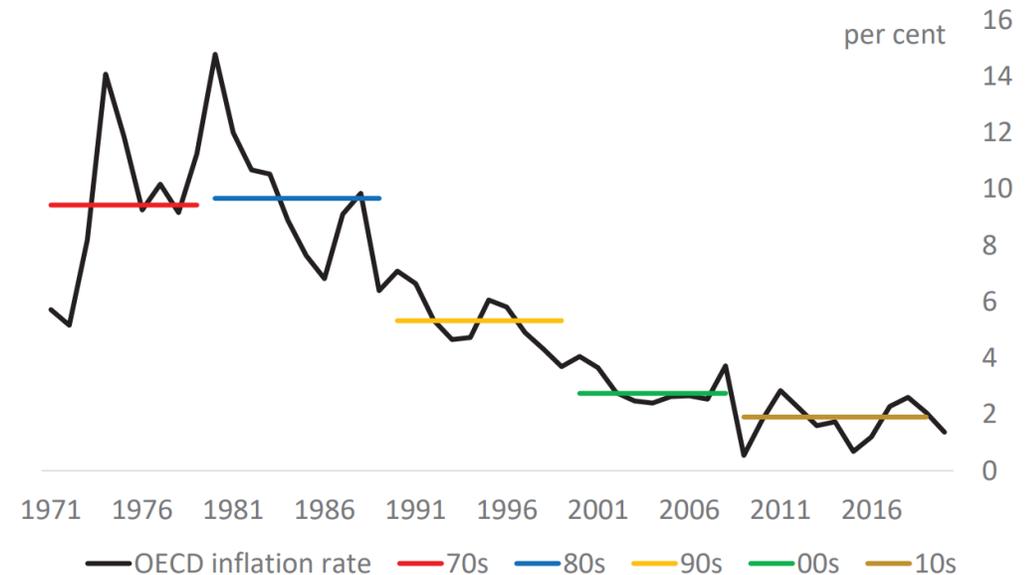
## Phillips curve's slope

*Closer to zero = weaker connection between US unemployment rate and previous 20 years of price inflation*



Source: Hooper, Mishkin, Sufi, 2019, "Prospects for Inflation in a High Pressure Economy: Is the Phillips Curve Dead or is It Just Hibernating?", NBER WP No. 25792

**China:** A positive global supply shock that disinflated the world and raised growth



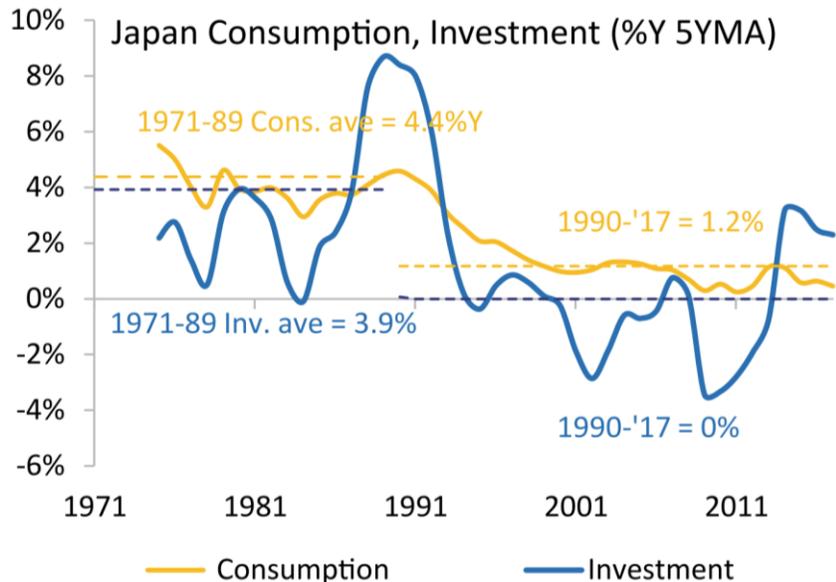
Source: Haldane, February 2021, "Inflation: A Tiger by the Tail", Bank of England Speech

# China's Global Disinflationary Impulse Has Passed

## China: Japan-esque labour constraint

**Services** provide employment, **hi-tech** provides productivity, **SOEs** provide state control

**Manufacturing, real estate** losing importance



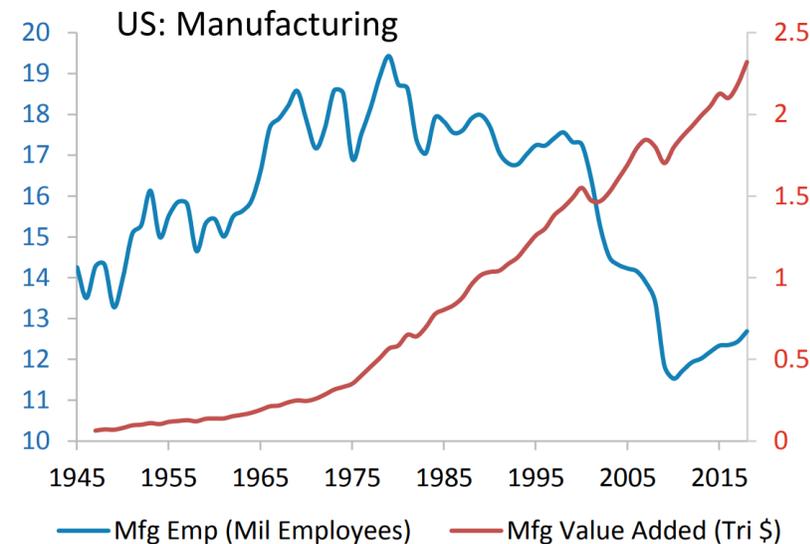
Source: China Ministry of Commerce

## Geopolitical Reshoring of Mfg inflationary?

**US/AE:** capital/labour rises = disinflationary

**US Inc.:** globally sub-optimal cost of production

A **slow reversal** of Pierce and Schott's "surprisingly swift decline of US manufacturing employment"?



Source: BEA, Pierce and Schott (2016), "The Surprisingly Swift Decline of US Manufacturing Employment"

# Fed Hikes and the Global Central Bank 'Peloton'

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## **FX brings central banks close(r) to fundamentals as well as the Fed**

### **Laggards (Japan, Sweden, Australia):**

- Those with reason to tighten but reluctant to raise rates see weaker FX.
- Weaker FX pass-through raises breakeven inflation rates quickly, inflation slowly
- Nominal/breakeven rates rise, and the central bank tightens

### **Leaders (Brazil, Mexico... then New Zealand, Korea):**

FX strength, disinflation, bond yields fall, central bank eases.

## **Are rising rates endogenous?**

**Global Cycle:** The most synchronized recovery ever

**Output gaps:** Soon positive in AEs, negative in EMEs (Ex Cent/East Europe = CE3)

**Housing:** Strong in the AEs (ex NZ), weak in the EMEs (ex CE3)

**Labour markets/shortages:** Persistent in the AEs, Not in EMEs (ex CE3)

# The Search for 'Neutral'

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**As inflation rates rise markedly above target, markets remain on a path of 'price discovery' for the neutral nominal interest rate – both 1y1y (terminal rates) and 'neutral' (5y5y) estimates for markets have risen as inflation has surged.**

The actual nominal interest rate needed to drive inflation back to target will depend on current levels of inflation, expectations thereof, and the current level of demand.

Assuming that these have already been hit would be premature. It would amount to assuming a success which has yet to be achieved and justified.

Without a peak in inflation (hard to say), positive real rates (Brazil, Mexico close), or significant damage to the real economy (Brazil, Mexico and housing markets in Korea, New Zealand), markets are not convinced that policy rates are near/above a neutral level.

**The concept of a neutral nominal interest rate is of little consolation at this juncture.**

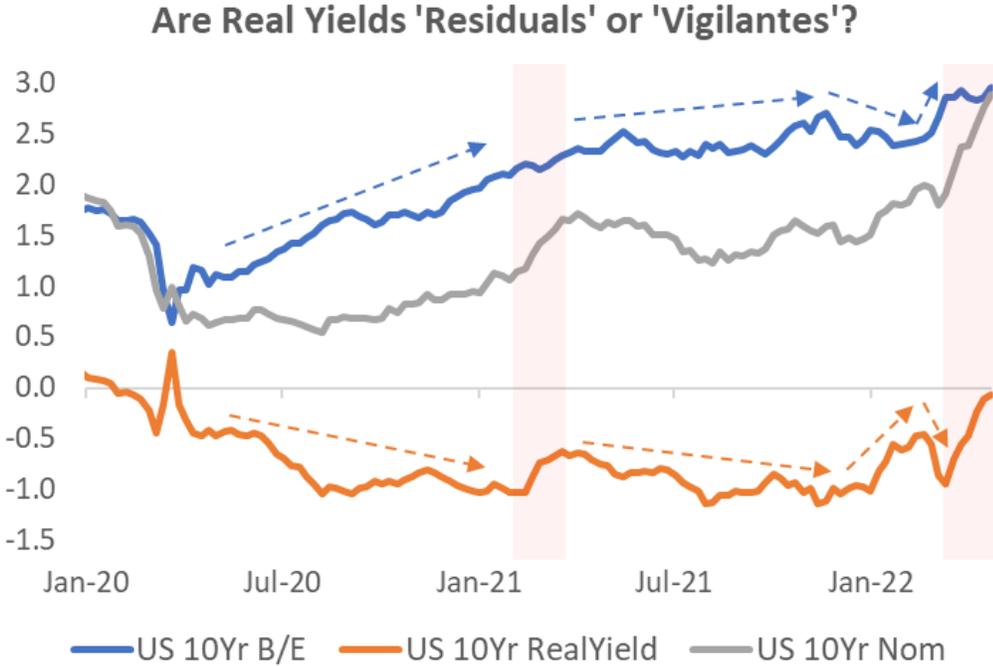
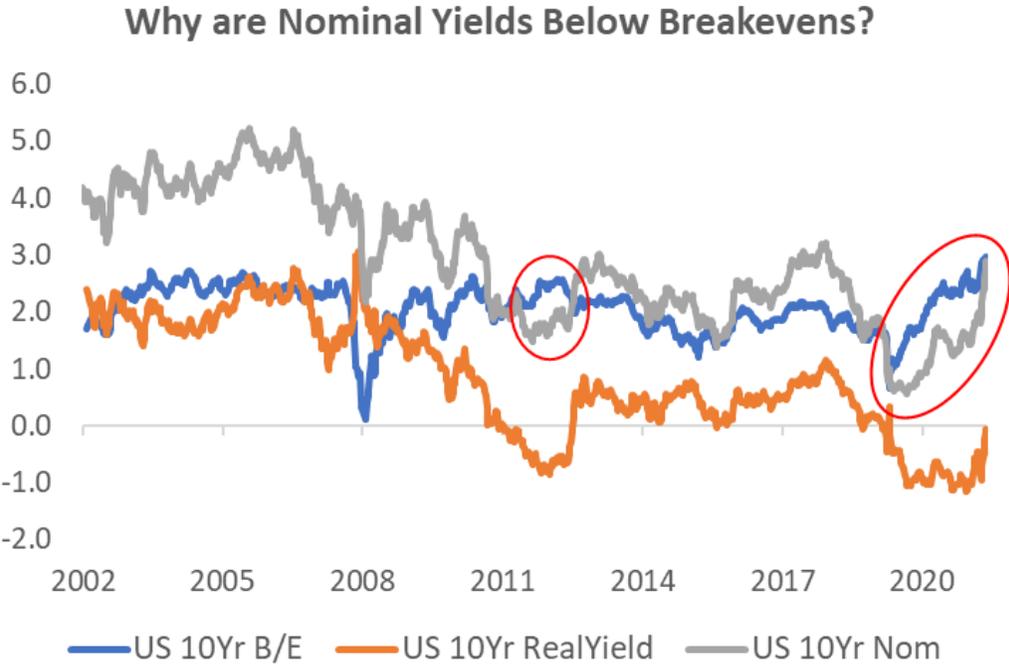
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# Conundrum 2.0? Why Are Nominal Yields Below Breakevens?

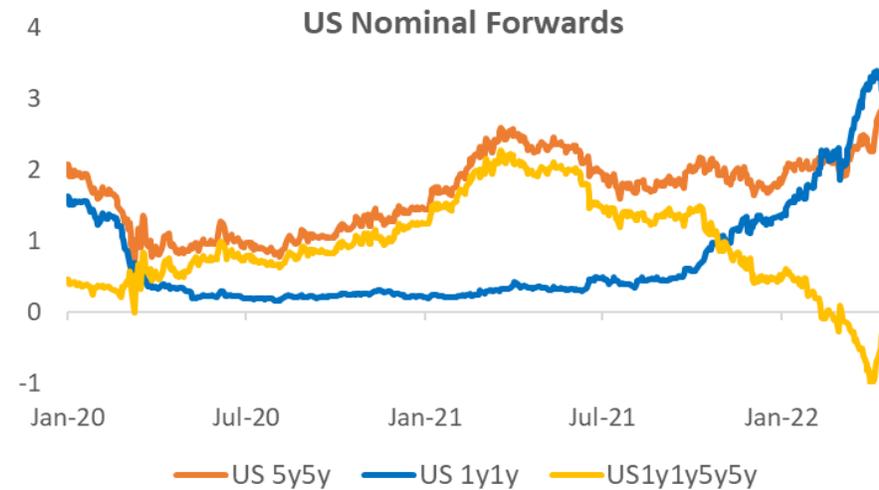
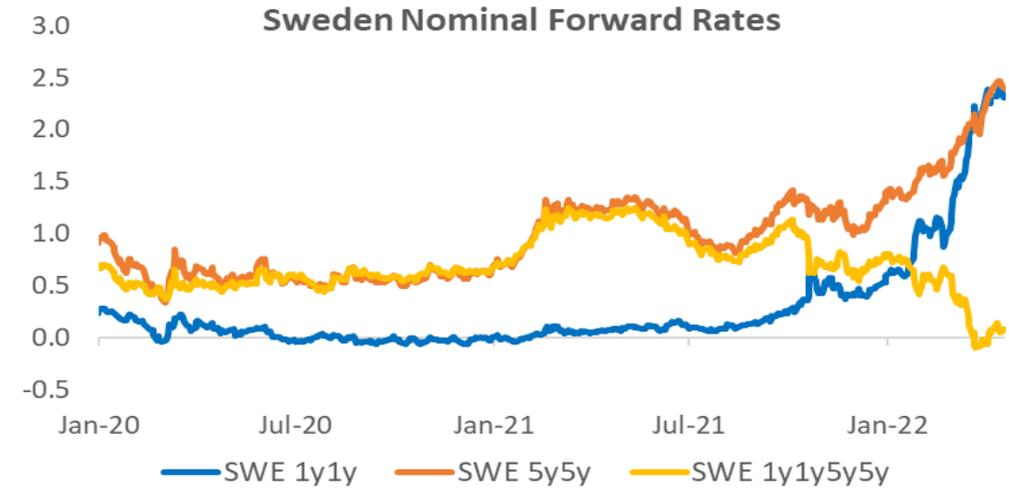
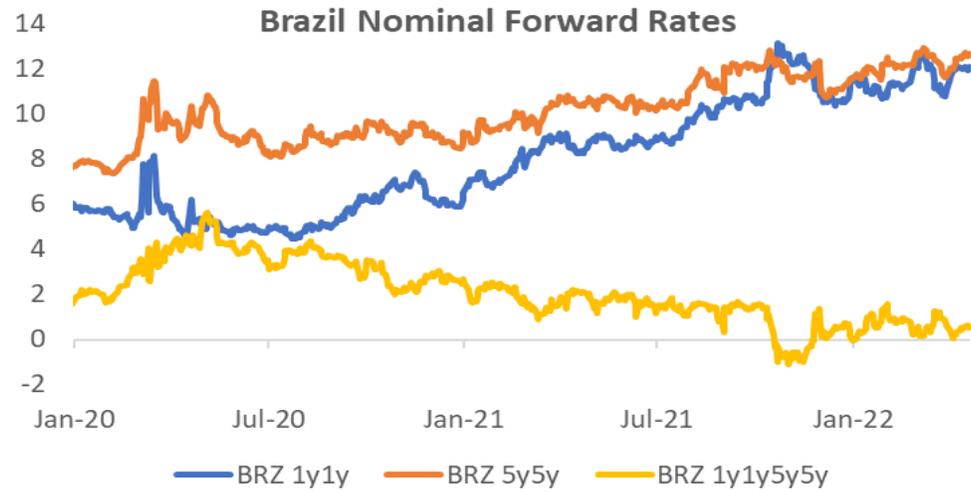
**Do inflation-indexed/real yields reinforce 'neutral' if central banks are seen to be 'behind'?**

**Residual?** If nominal rates are 'fixed', then rising breakevens push real yield lower

**Vigilante?** If real policy rates seem too low, real rates rise despite rising breakevens



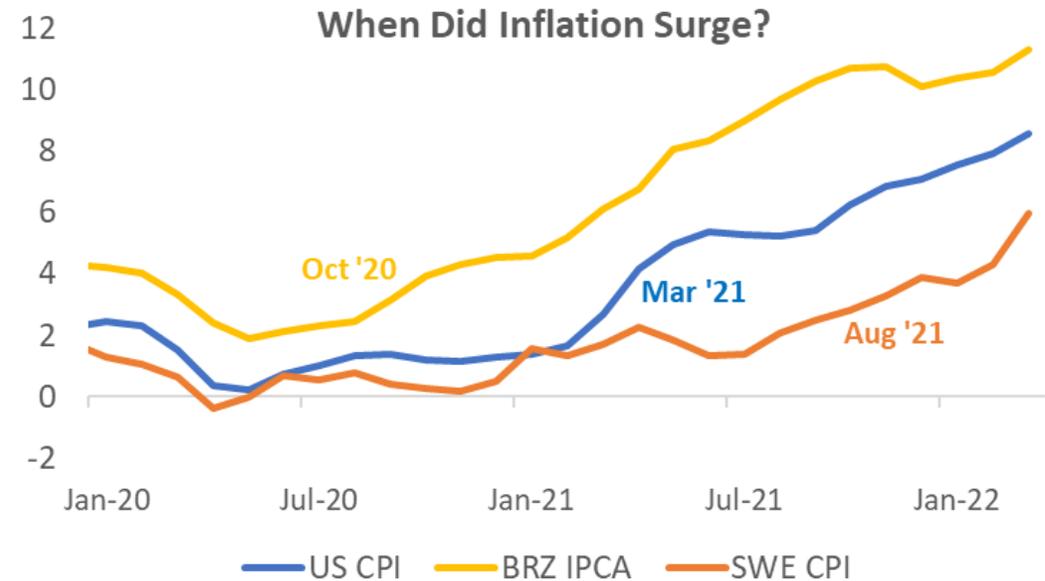
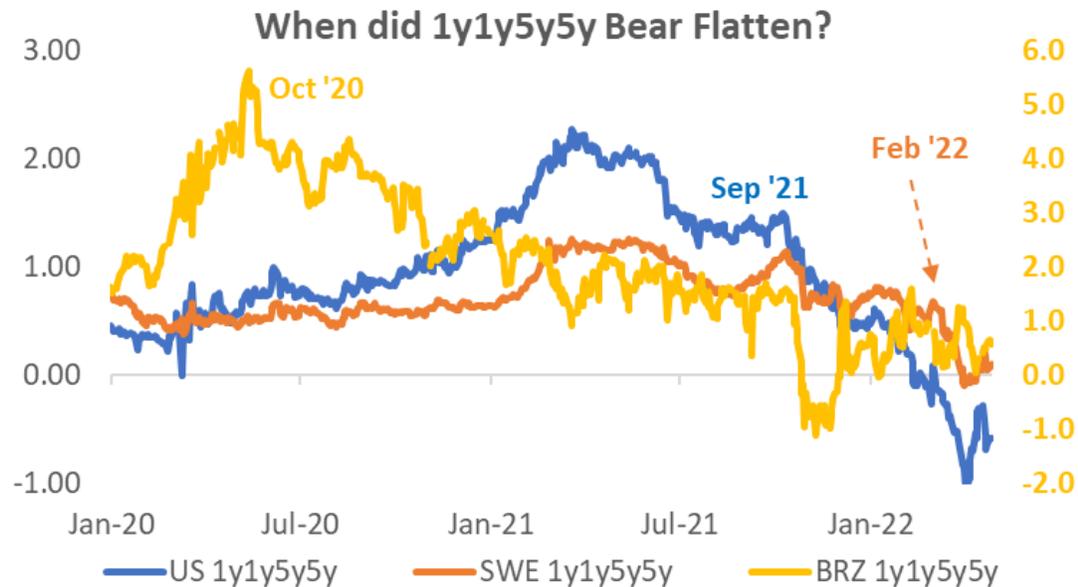
# Terminal (1y1y) *and* Neutral (5y5y) 'Estimates' Have Risen



# Laggards and Leaders – Yield Curves vs Inflation

**Brazil, Mexico** and **New Zealand** saw monetary conditions tighten almost as soon as inflation surged

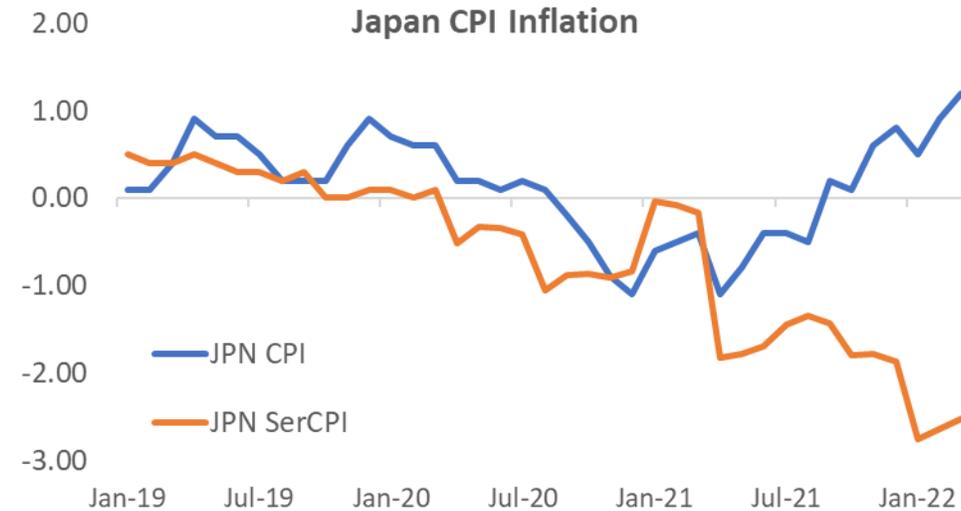
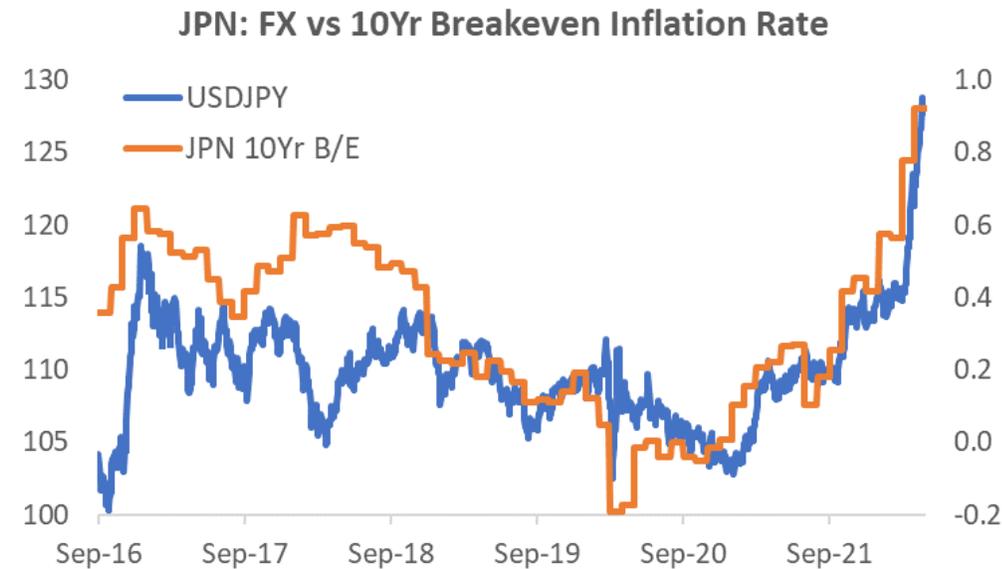
Despite conditions similar to NZ, the **RBA** resisted. **Sweden's** green energy may have created a delay?



# JPY Shorts: A Classic Attempt to Drag the BoJ into Tightening

In Japan, market are 'using' FX to force the BoJ's hand  
- If it doesn't, JPY shorts and long B/E positions grow

The BoJ's threshold for action (say 2%) may be met soon  
due to (i) communication one-offs pass (ii) FX pass-thro.



# Whither the 'Fragile Five'?

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## **China created greater damage despite the 'Taper Tantrum' Narrative**

Crises/recessions/capex in RUS, BRZ, NOR, CAN suggests China damaged EM by more.

Post commodity crisis (2014-18): No investment response to commodity prices → FX not responsive to terms of trade → China now affects mostly North Asia, not so much the broader EM complex.

**Turkey and Argentina crises in 2018 can be attributed to the Fed: 3% 2y vs EM premium**

## **Whither the Fragile Five?**

**Turkey** – an extremely difficult path back to orthodoxy and market access

**India, Indonesia, South Africa** on a structurally promising path – zero real rates

**Brazil** – cyclically protected.

# Role Reversal: AE CBs May Not be Able to Ease in a (Mild) Recession - EMEs Can Ease Even as the Fed Hikes

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## **Inflation in the AEs may remain higher than in the EMEs**

Output gaps, housing and labour markets (all with supply issues)

**Real rates** are far lower in the AEs (CE3 are an exception)

## **The Result?**

AE [and CE3] central banks may have to be procyclical: may have to hike into a slowdown, may not be able to ease during a mild recession.

Some EME CBs may be able to cut rates/ be countercyclical even as the Fed hikes

BRZ, MEX lead this trend – KOR [and NZ] next in line